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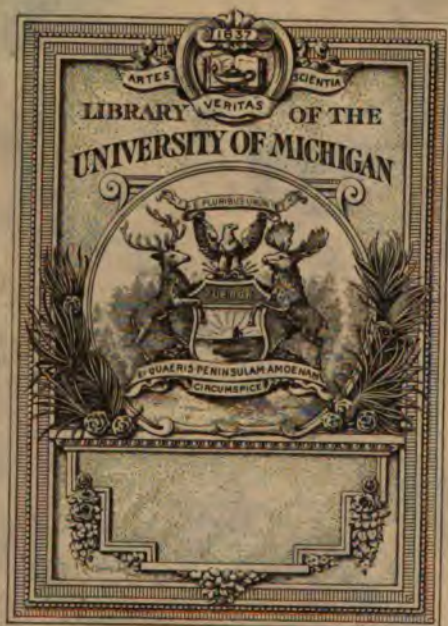
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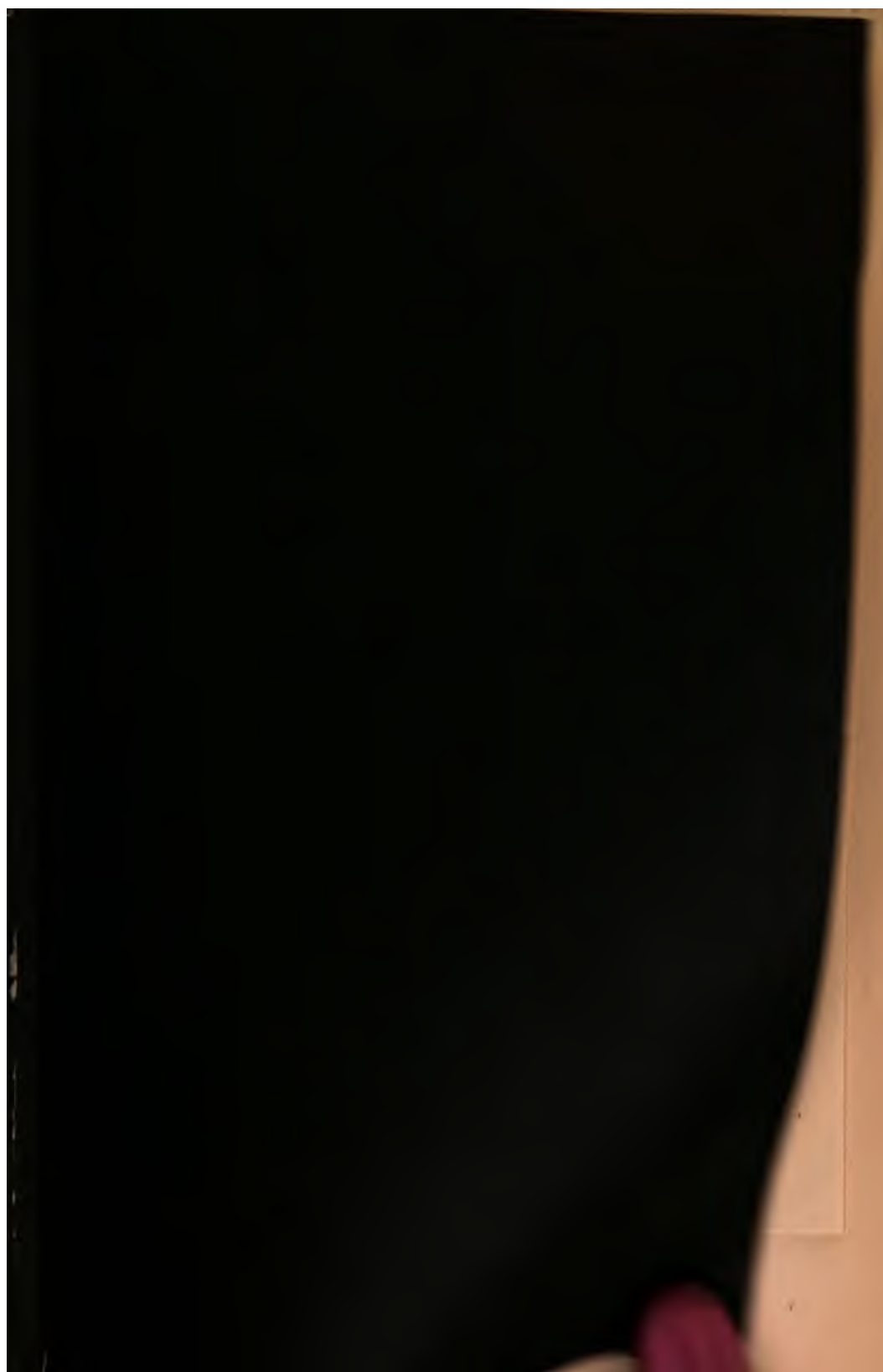
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ESSAYS
IN
BIBLICAL AND PATRISTIC CRITICISM

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STUDIA
BIBLICA ET ECCLESIASTICA

ESSAYS

CHIEFLY

IN BIBLICAL AND PATRISTIC CRITICISM

BY

MEMBERS OF THE UNIVERSITY
OF OXFORD

VOLUME III

WITH FACSIMILES

Oxford

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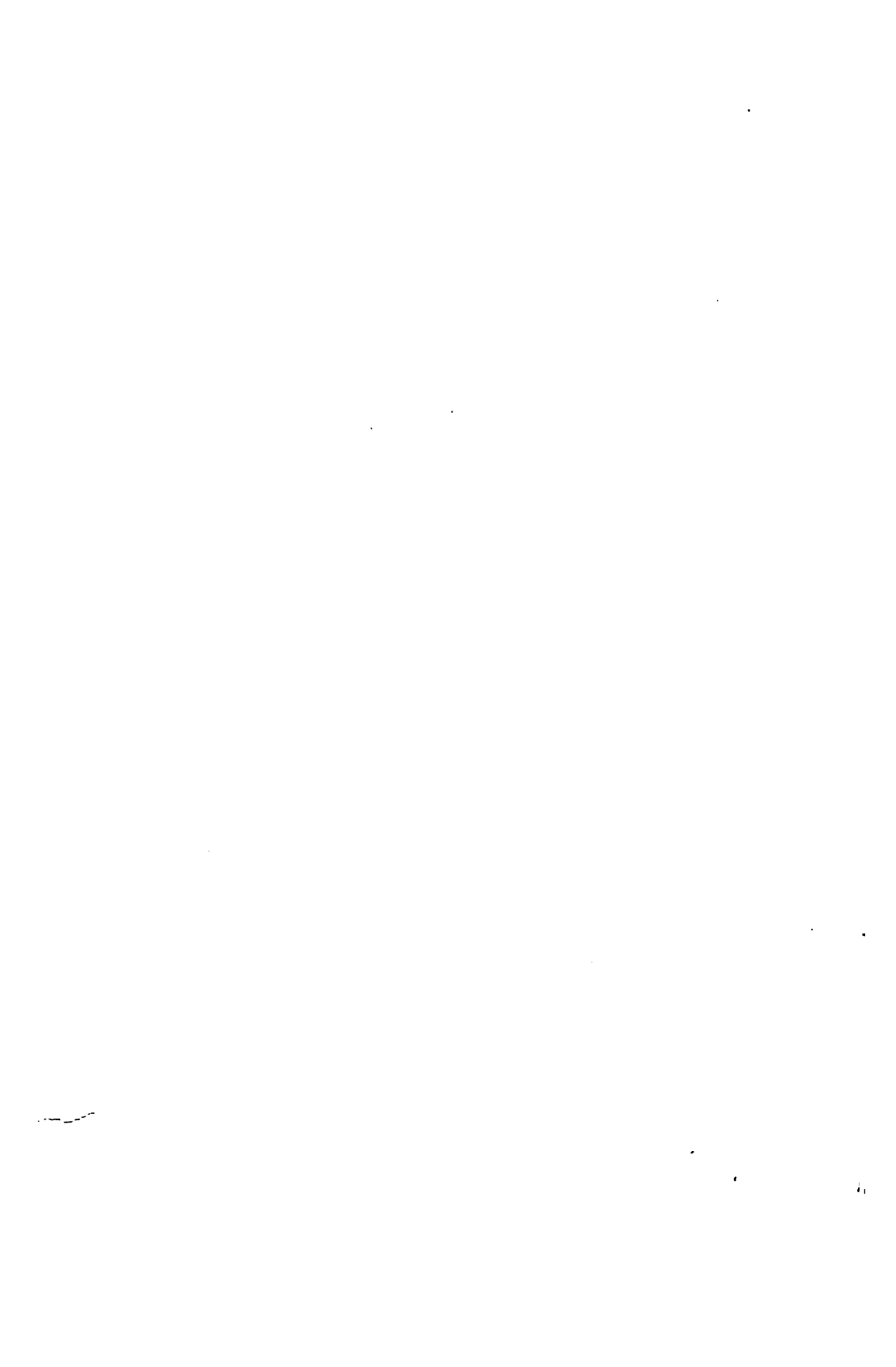
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PREFACE.

OF the Essays now published Nos. I, II, VI were in type when the last volume of *Studia Biblica* was issued, and were originally intended for that volume. The delay in the appearance of the present instalment has been chiefly caused by the opportunity, of which we gladly availed ourselves, to make the fifth Essay still more complete by the addition of the matter contained in the Appendices. The fullest collection of materials was in this case especially desirable, because the thorough discussion of the text of any one set of Canons would determine the lines to be followed in reconstituting the text of others, and the way would thus be prepared for a critical edition of the Early Councils generally—a task on which two of the Essayists are already engaged and with which they have made some progress. The enterprise and research which Mr. Rackham has shown in obtaining his collations, and the clearness which he has succeeded in imparting to a mass of details, will meet, we think, with deserved recognition.

An impression which appears to prevail in some quarters ought perhaps to be corrected. The volumes of *Studia Biblica* which have so far appeared are not part of a regular series which could be calculated upon beforehand. That they have appeared at all is due to the Delegates of the Clarendon Press, to whom we desire to make our grateful acknowledgments. But it rests with the public rather than with ourselves to decide whether the series can be continued.

S. R. DRIVER.
T. K. CHEYNE.
W. SANDAY.



CONTENTS.

	PAGE
<p>I. The Introduction of the Square Characters in Biblical MSS., and an Account of the earliest MSS. of the Old Testament</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">AD. NEUBAUER, M.A., Exeter College, Reader in Rabbinical Literature and Sub-Librarian of the Bodleian Library, &c.</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">(With a table of alphabets and facsimiles.)</p>	1
<p>II. The Argument of Romans IX—XI</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">CHARLES GORE, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College.</p>	37
<p>III. The Materials for the Criticism of the Peshitto New Testament, with Specimens of the Syriac Massorah</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">G. H. GWILLIAM, B.D., Fellow of Hertford College.</p>	47
<p>IV. An Examination of the New Testament Quotations of Ephrem Syrus</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">F. H. WOODS, B.D., late Tutor of St. John's College.</p>	105
<p>V. The Text of the Canons of Ancyra</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">R. B. RACKHAM, M.A., Worcester College.</p>	139
<p style="padding-left: 20px;">Appendix I. The Syriac Version</p>	195
<p style="padding-left: 20px;">Appendix II. The Armenian Version</p>	209
<p>VI. The Cheltenham List of the Canonical Books of the Old and New Testament and of the Writings of Cyprian</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">W. SANDAY, M.A., Exeter College, Dean Ireland's Professor of Exegesis.</p>	217
<p>Appendix</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">C. H. TURNER, M.A., Fellow of Magdalen College.</p>	304

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.



Forms of Early Semitic Alphabets, by PROFESSOR

R. E. BRÜNNOW *Frontispiece.*



- | | |
|---|-------------------------|
| I. Cairo MS. of the Old Testament. 1 Sam. | |
| iv. 15-v. 8 | <i>To follow p. 36.</i> |
| II. Cairo MS. Colophon | „ |
| III. Cambridge MS. No. 12. Gen. xxi. 19-xxii. 8 | „ |
| IV. Cambridge MS. No. 12. 2 Chron. xxxvi. | |
| 13 to end, followed by the Colophon . | „ |

I.

THE INTRODUCTION OF THE SQUARE CHARACTERS IN BIBLICAL MSS. AND AN ACCOUNT OF THE EARLIEST MSS. OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

[AD. NEUBAUER.]

2° It is not our intention to discuss here the origin of the alphabet in general, or the development of the so-called 'Hebrew square characters' from an earlier Phoenician or Aramaic alphabet. Our object is to propound an opinion respecting the introduction of the square character into the copies of the Hebrew scriptures in the place of the Phoenician or the archaic Hebrew ones. Let us state at once that it is now generally believed that the Phoenician alphabet is derived from the Hieroglyphics, and that many other forms of alphabet, especially the Greek as well as the Semitic, are taken from the Phoenician¹, which gradually underwent such modification, that at last all visible similarity to the early Phoenician characters disappeared.

The relation of the archaic characters used by the Israelites to the present square characters, will be found explained in the principal Hebrew grammars, from W. Gesenius² to B. Stade³, to which we must refer our readers. As to the substitution of the one alphabet for the other in copying the books of the Old Testament, we have to mention two special essays by the late Dr. L. Herzfeld⁴ and Professor

¹ See Fr. Lenormant, *Essai sur la propagation de l'alphabet phénicien dans l'ancien monde*, t. i. p. 88 sqq.; also the Table of Alphabets, Plate 101 of the *London Palaeographical Society*, 2nd series.

² *Geschichte der hebräischen Sprache und Schrift* (Leipzig, 1815), p. 137 sqq.

³ *Lehrbuch der hebräischen Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1879, p. 22 sqq.

⁴ *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, etc., 2nd ed., 2nd vol., pp. 76 to 91.

H. Graetz¹, which are inserted as excursuses to their histories of the people of Israel. The former, who wrote his important work in 1863, is necessarily not abreast of the present day as to palaeography, but he mentions all the documents relating to the subject in the Talmudic and patristic literature, and offers also valuable suggestions as to the alphabet in which the text used by the LXX must have been written, judging from the variations which their translation presents from the Massoretic text. In 1863, the Phœnician inscription dedicated to Baal Lebanon², that of the Moabite stele³, and of the Siloam Pool⁴, were not yet discovered. For the Aramaic, Dr. Herzfeld could only base his argument on the characters found in the Carpentras inscription and the Turin Papyrus⁵. And above all, he could have had no knowledge of the early inscriptions in square characters, viz. of the Bene Hēzir⁶, and in the synagogue of Kefr Ber'em⁷, and some others. He therefore stands in the infancy of palaeographical science, speaking with Ewald of an alphabet brought from Egypt by the Hyksos, and maintaining with Saalschütz that the Phœnicians cannot be the inventors of the alphabet, because the original names of the letters presuppose an agricultural tribe, and not a maritime nation, such as the Phœnicians are known to have been. But, in spite of these unavoidable defects, Dr. Herzfeld's essay is still worth studying, and we can only admire the sagacity brought to bear by him upon the subject, even with the imperfect knowledge

¹ *Geschichte der Juden*, II. ii. (Leipzig, 1876), p. 400 sqq.

² See *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* (Paris, 1881), part i. No. 5 (p. 22 sqq.), and our table of the alphabets.

³ See *Records of the Past*, new series (London, 1889), ii. p. 194, and our table, which is the work of the talented Semitic scholar, Prof. Rudolf E. Brünnow.

⁴ *Ibidem*, i. p. 168, and our table.

⁵ See *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, part ii. pp. 143-148, and our table.

⁶ See below, p. 17.

⁷ See *Corpus Inscriptionum Hebraicarum, etc.*, von D. Chwolson (St. Petersburg, 1882), p. 87. To this important work Professor Euting of Strasbourg has added facsimiles and an extended table of the various Semitic alphabets, which our readers may consult with great benefit.

of the development of the Phoenician alphabet which was then possessed.

Dr. Graetz, who wrote in 1876, of course availed himself of the discoveries which had then been made in the field of Semitic inscriptions, and although the Baal Lebanon Phoenician inscription as well as the Teima¹ Aramaic one was not at his disposal, he follows the right path concerning the development of the Hebrew square characters from the Aramaic.

We must not forget to mention Dr. A. Geiger's² 'Introduction to the Biblical Books,' which contains a few valuable notes on our subject.

Before proceeding with our views on the introduction of the Hebrew square characters, it may perhaps be useful to state how far the Israelites were acquainted with the art of writing before the Babylonian captivity. Whatever date may be assigned to the Biblical documents, it cannot be doubted that the Israelites were acquainted with the art of writing from an early period of their social life. It is not altogether certain whether books were originally meant by the word ספר, and whether the word כתב expressed always writing with a pen³, for it seems that there is a difference between the expressions כתב על ספר and כתב בספר. The first means writing *upon* a *Sepher*, a tablet most likely, and the second writing *in* a *Sepher*, implying a collection of writings, whether of tablets or of other material. No substantive of the root כתב is employed for a book, whether in early or later Hebrew, or to denote a professional writer, as is the case with the root ספר. In a section of the book of Judges⁴

¹ See *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, part ii. p. 110, and *Studia Biblica*, i. p. 211. For the Panammu Aramaic inscription, recently noticed by Professor A. H. Sayce (*Academy*, 7th September, 1889, p. 157), see at the end of the essay.

² *Nachgelassene Schriften*, iv. (Berlin, 1876), p. 42 sqq.

³ See Professor Georg Hoffmann's article, *Lexikalisches*, in the *Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, edited by Prof. B. Stade, i. p. 335.

⁴ Judges viii. 14.

which is indisputably of early origin, we find that 'Gideon caught a young man of the men of Succoth, and enquired of him: and *wrote down* for him the princes of Succoth and the elders thereof.' Thus writing was current even amongst other classes than professional men. In the time of Samuel books were already written. We read there¹, 'Then Samuel told the people the manner of the kingdom, and wrote *it* in the book and laid *it* up before the Lord.' At the court of David the offices of a recorder and a scribe are mentioned as existing². We are not willing to enter upon a discussion about the date of the composition of the Pentateuch and of the book of Joshua, but the mention in these of the *written* books of 'Jashar'³ and 'the Wars of the Lord'⁴ is sufficient for our purpose. One has only to open a Hebrew concordance of the Bible at the word כתב 'to write,' in order to see how frequently this word occurs in Scripture, from which the conclusion may be drawn that the art of writing was freely practised by the Israelites, at least amongst the higher class of them.

We may perhaps be allowed to quote a verse of the prophet Hosea, which seems not to be preserved in its original form. He says, in the name of God⁵, according to the A.V.: 'I have written to him the great things of my law, *but* they were counted as a strange thing.' The R.V. translates, 'Though I write for him my law in ten thousand *precepts*,' and on the margin, 'I wrote for him the ten thousand things of my law,' following the Q'ri רבו instead of רבי. The LXX translates as follows: καταγράψω αὐτῷ πλήθος, καὶ τὰ νόμιμα αὐτοῦ. The Targum and the Syriac version have both 'a multitude.' We believe that if an emendation has to be made, it ought to be that proposed by eminent scholars, such as Newcome, Graf, Kuenen, and M. J. Halévy⁶, viz. דברי instead of רבי, 'words of my law,' words having the meaning

¹ 1 Sam. x. 25.² 2 Sam. xx. 24, 25.³ Joshua x. 13.⁴ Numbers xxi. 14.⁵ Hosea viii. 12.⁶ See the various readings in the *Variorum Bible* (2nd ed.), a. l.

here of 'commandments,' which are called elsewhere דברים 'words'.¹ But for our purpose it will prove in any case that something of the law was written down for the nation in the time of Hosea.

We know that the neighbouring nations were at the time of David far advanced in the art of writing. The Phoenicians had already disseminated their alphabet throughout the greater part of the world, the Assyrian libraries were already filled with brick tablets and cylinders on which all kinds of records were written down in the cuneiform characters, in which a large correspondence was discovered lately at Tel el-Amarna, written about 1400 B.C., and in which reference is made to Palestinian cities². Moreover, the kings of Aram sent letters to the kings of Israel³. King Mesha's inscription⁴ of thirty-four lines shows clearly that in the ninth century B.C. the Moabites were acquainted with the art of writing. This inscription is written in characters slightly differing from those employed by the Phoenicians in the Baal Lebanon fragment⁵; they must have been in use amongst the Moabites some time before the ninth century, for a people scarcely begins writing with a text of thirty-four lines.

That the Israelites, so familiar with the art of writing, also used a kind of Phoenician script, at least as early as the time of David, was generally admitted⁶, chiefly because of the resemblance of the Phoenician alphabet to that found on the Maccabean coins. This has now been confirmed by the discovery of the Siloam inscription⁷, the first deciphering of which we owe to Professor Sayce. The letters of the Siloam text are much nearer those of the Phoenician alphabet

¹ Exodus xx. 1; Deuteronomy v. 19.

² See Professor Sayce's article in the *Transactions of the Victoria Institute*, Annual Address, 1889.

³ 2 Kings v. 5, 6.

⁴ See note 3 on p. 2.

⁵ See our table.

⁶ See Gesenius (note 2 on p. 1), p. 139 sqq.

⁷ See above, p. 2; also Guthe in the *Zeitschrift der deutsch. morg. Gesellschaft*, 1882, p. 725.

than those of the Jewish coins of the second Temple. It is a curious fact, however, that among the monuments of the Phoenicians (the supposed inventors of the earliest alphabet), which we possess, there is none older than 1000-900 B. C., while of Jewish monuments the Siloam inscription remains unique. The Siloam characters are already more cursive than those of the Moabite stele¹, and in characters similar to them, but perhaps still more cursive, we have to suppose that the book found in the Temple, and those carried away by the exiles (if they did so) would have been written.

The Phoenician characters, with more or less modifications, were evidently current, for commercial purposes at least, about the year 700 B. C., and were used from Egypt to the Mediterranean lands, and extending as far as Assyria. The latter country, where the cuneiform system of writing continued to be employed up to the date of the fall of Nineveh, while in Babylonia it was used even so late as the reign of Domitian, was obliged to carry on its official correspondence in Aramaic characters, a modification of the Phoenician script, when it became master of Aram (Mesopotamia), Damascus, Arabia, Palestine, and Egypt. On Assyrian weights of 700 B. C. we find Phoenician characters², and Rabshakeh was asked by Eliakim, Shebna and Joash to speak Aramaic, which they understood, and not in *Yehudith* or Hebrew, the language of the common people³. Some letters on these Assyrian weights have already undergone important modifications from the Baal Lebanon characters in the direction of a cursive form. For instance, the *daleth* is already open at the top, like that of the later Aramaic monuments in Egypt; the *het* is more simple, having only one horizontal stroke, and thus approaches the Hebrew square character; the *yod* is the smallest letter; the *lamed* is simply cursive; and the *ain* is also open. Unfortunately there is a gap in the Aramaic monuments, between the Assyrian

¹ See the table.

² *Ibidem*, col. 6.

³ Isaiah xxxvi. 11.

weights and the stele of Saqqarah in Egypt, the date of which is only 482 B.C., fifty-four years after the return of the exiles from Babylonia. Here the *beth* and the *resh* are already open; the *he* inclined already to the Hebrew square form; the *shin* is but the square form in an undeveloped state; the *aleph*, although nearer to the old Phoenician form, inclines towards that of the Siloam inscription. We can see from this short description of the gradual modification of the Phoenician letters, according to time and locality, how possible it was that in the countries where the Jewish exiles were settled, the Phoenician characters might have already reached a cursive stage, approaching the so-called square character. The letters of the Palmyrene inscriptions, which date from 9 B.C., as far as they have been at present discovered, though they differ in details, are in all essential respects similar to the Hebrew square characters¹. Of course there must be earlier inscriptions in Palmyra, which we hope may soon come to light.

Let us now turn to the Jews after their return from exile in Babylonia, where they had remained for more than two generations. If this space of time was not sufficient to extinguish entirely their language, two generations are more than enough for the adoption of the writing of a country, in which business was to be carried on. If the Aramaic language had partly modified the Hebrew of the exiles, it is certain that the Aramaic writing, which was so similar to the Old Hebrew of the Siloam inscription, must have done so. When the Jews returned to Jerusalem there was a correspondence with the court of Artaxerxes, king of Persia, and the writing of the letters was in Aramaic characters and interpreted in the Aramaic tongue², (A.V. has in the Syrian tongue, which comes to the same thing.) This is, however, no proof that the Jews had forgotten altogether their old writing, but from this passage it is evident that the official

¹ See the table; also De Vogué, *Syrie Centrale*, p. 3.

² *Ezra* iv. 7.

correspondence with the Persian court was carried on in the Aramaic tongue and in Aramaic characters; and many of those who returned from exile may have known both. The book of the Law, out of which Ezra read before the congregation¹, and from which copies were made, might consequently have been written: 1st, either in the old Hebrew letters, similar to those found on the Maccabean coins; 2nd, or in Aramaic characters, which the exiles brought back with them from Babylonia; 3rd, or in both forms of writing, for the benefit alike of the Babylonian Jews, a great number of whom settled in the country, as well as of the Jews who had remained in Palestine and could only read the old Hebrew script. We incline to the last hypothesis, for it is certain that the Jews who remained in Babylonia must have needed a copy of the Law in their own mode of writing, if they had to read it in their synagogues, and interpret it in their schools. And Ezra or his immediate successors must surely have taken care that the Law should not be neglected out of the Holy Land.

The Talmudic tradition, to which, however, we cannot always allow a historical value, declares that the change of characters in writing the text of scripture was made by Ezra.

On this point we find the following statement in various parts of the Talmud²:

אמר מר זוטרא ואיתימא מר עוקבא בתחילה ניתנה תורה לישראל בכתב עברי ולשון הקודש חזרה וניתנה להם בימי עזרא בכתב אשורית ולשון ארמי בידרו להן לישראל כתב אשורית ולשון הקודש והניחו להדיוטות כתב עברית ולשון ארמי. מאן הדיוטות א"ר חסדא כותאי מאי כתב עברית א"ר חסדא כתב ליבונאה. תניא ר' יוסי אומר ראוי היה עזרא שתינתן תורה ע"י לישראל אילמלא לא קדמו משה במשה הוא אומר ומשה עלה אל האלהים בעזרא הוא אומר הוא עזרא עלה מבבל מה עליה האמור כאן תורה אף עליה האמור להלן תורה במשה הוא אומר ואותי צוה " בעת ההיא ללמד

¹ Nehemiah viii. 3.

² *Bab. Talmud*, Sanhedrin, ff. 21^b and 22^a, of which we give the text, being the completest. Compare, *Tosiftha*, Sanhedrin, iv. 7 (ed. Zuckermandel), pp. 421 and 422; *Palestinian* (or Jerusalem) *Talmud*, Megillah, i. 9 (fol. 7^b and 9), and partly Sotah, vii. 2 (fol. 21^c). It is useless to give variations, since they do not bear upon our thesis.

אתכם חקים ומשפטים בעזרא הוא אומר כי עזרא הכין לבבו לדרוש את תורת יי אלהיו ולעשות וללמד לישראל חוק ומשפט ואע"פ שלא ניתנה תורה על ידו נשתנה על ידו הכתב שנאמר וכתב הנשתון כתוב ארמית ומתורגם ארמית . . . למה נקרא אשורית שעלה עמהם מאשור תניא ר' אומר בתחלה בכתב זה ניתנה תורה לישראל כיון שחטאו נהפך להן לרועץ כיון שחזרו בהן החזירו להם . . . למה נקרא שמה אשורית שמאשרת בכתב רש"ב אומר משום ר"א בן פרטא שאמר משום ר"א המודעי כתב זה לא נשתנה כל עיקר :

'Mar Zutra (a Babylonian doctor of the fourth century) says, and others report it in the name of Mar Uqba (of the same date): "The law was in the first instance given to Israel in *Ibri* characters and in the holy language; in the time of Ezra the law was given a second time in Assyrian characters, and in the Aramaic language. Israel chose then the Assyrian characters, with the holy language, and left to the *Idiotes* the *Ibri* writing with the Aramaic language." Who are the *Idiotes*? R. Hisda (a Babylonian doctor of the fourth century) says: the *Kuthim*, or the Samaritans. What is the *Ibri* writing? The *Libunah*¹ characters.' This passage of the Bab. Talmud is continued in the following manner: 'R. Jose (who lived in the third century) says, "Ezra was worthy that the law should have been given through him, if Moses had not done it before. In fact, in the case of both the expression עלה 'to ascend' is employed. It is said²: 'And Moses *went up* unto God,' and it is said³, 'This Ezra *went up* from Babylon.' As the going up of Moses was for the sake of the law, so it was in the case of Ezra. Indeed it is said of Moses⁴, 'And the Lord commanded me at that time to teach you statutes and judgments.' And it is equally said of Ezra⁵, 'For Ezra had prepared his heart to seek the law of the Lord, and to do it, and to teach in Israel statutes and judgments.' Although the law was not given through Ezra, the writing was changed by him, as it is written⁶, 'The writing of the letter was written in Aramaic and with Ara-

¹ See below, p. 11.

² Deut. iv. 14.

³ Exodus xix. 3.

⁴ Ezra vii. 10.

⁵ Ezra vii. 6.

⁶ Ezra iv. 7.

maic characters¹. . . . The passage continues: "Why is the writing called *Ashurith*? Because it came up with them from *Ashur* (Assyria)." Rabbi [Jehudah] (the compiler of the Mishnah, who lived 180 A. D.) said: "In the first instance the law was given to Israel in Assyrian characters. After they had sinned, the characters were changed into Roatz², and when they repented the original characters were given back to them . . . Why is it called *Ashurith*? Because it is a straight character, אשר signifying *straight*." R. Eleazar, son of Prata, said in the name of R. Eleazar, of Modein (who lived at the beginning of the second century), the present writing has not been changed at all . . .'

In another passage³, the following saying is reported in the name of R. Eliezer, son of Jacob; he said that three prophets went with the exiles to the Holy Land. The one gave witness as to the place where the altar stood, and how it was shaped; the second gave witness that sacrifices are offered even when the Temple is not yet built; and the third affirmed that the law will be written in Assyrian script.

תנא ר"א בן יעקב אומר שלשה נביאים עלו עמם מן הגולה. אחד שהעיד להם על המזבח ועל מקום המזבח ואחד שהעיד להם שמקריבין אף על פי שאין בית ואחד שהעיד להם על התורה שתכתב אשורית:

In the Mishnah⁴ the Assurith is considered holy and the Ibri profane. From these passages it follows that tradition was aware of a change undergone by the writing at a remote date, and unknown to the rabbis, on account of which they attributed it to Ezra. And we shall see that they were partially right in their opinion. Of course the sayings of Rabbi [Jehudah] and R. Eleazar have no historical value, since they only tried to save the antiquity of the Assyrian characters, for the sake of orthodoxy. Philo even says that the Assyrian characters date from Moses. Origen and Jerome further

¹ The . . . are in the place of the Biblical verses which are adduced in the Talmud, and explained in an Agadic manner for the purpose.

² See below, p. 11.

³ *Bab. Talmud*, Z'behim, fol. 62^a.

⁴ *Zabim*, iv. 7.

mention that the new characters were introduced by Ezra. Finally, the Samaritan chronicle of Abul-Fatah (written in the eleventh century) states that Ezra changed the Ibri characters, and introduced twenty-seven letters, which means that it attributes to Ezra the five final forms of כ, נ, ג, ב, and ז¹. We have seen² that the Palestinian doctors call the old Ibri writing קרר, and the Babylonian Hisdai calls it ליבנאי. The derivation of these two terms remains at present doubtful. But we shall not trouble our readers with all the possible interpretations of these two words proposed by scholars. We believe, with Dr. Hoffmann³, that the right reading of the first word is קרר, a variation mentioned by R. Hananel (who lived in the tenth century), in his commentary on the Talmud⁴. This reading is perhaps confirmed by Epiphanius, who says in his treatise on the twelve stones of the ephod (preserved in Latin only), that Ezra brought the Pentateuch, which was formerly written 'forma Hebraei *decession*, quod interpretatur "insculptum".' The root קרר, in Syriac and Aramaic, means *to fix in*, and hence might not unnaturally be used in the sense of *engrave*; and the old Ibri writing was known to the Palestinian doctors of the third century by coins alone, since they had little communication with the Samaritans, and after all the Samaritan characters had already assumed calligraphic forms, introduced by scribes. It is most likely that the Babylonian rabbi knew the old Ibri characters from inscriptions on bricks, and therefore called it *Libonai*, which means on brick⁵. We have seen from the Talmud that the square characters are called 'Assyrian' because the Jews brought them from Assyria. The name of Assyria was employed for a long time after the

¹ See Herzfeld, *op. cit.* (note 4 on p. 1), p. 77.

² See above, p. 9.

³ *Op. cit.* (note 3 on p. 3), p. 335.

⁴ See *Beiträge zur hebräischen Grammatik im Talmud und Midrasch*, von Dr. A. Berliner (Berlin, 1879), p. 8.

⁵ We do not believe that the Babylonian Hisdai knew much about the locality לבנא (Judges xxi. 19), from which Dr. Hoffmann seeks to explain *Libnai*, *op. cit.* (note 3 on p. 3), p. 338.

fall of the Assyrian empire, in order to denote Mesopotamia. Even the King of Persia is called¹ King of Assur. In Greek writers² Assyria is often employed for Aramaic countries, which were later called Syria. In fact the name of Syria is derived from the name Assyria. Even the system of vowel-points employed in the eighth century A. D. in some Eastern schools, which are placed above the letters, is termed the Assyrian punctuation, whilst the system used by the Western school is called the Palestinian punctuation, or that of Tiberias. Those rabbis who did not like the idea of the introduction of foreign characters into the Bible, explained the traditional phrase 'Assyrian writing' by the word אשר 'straight.' Epiphanius, in the above-mentioned passage³, says of the new writing, 'haec igitur forma, quam nunc tenent Judaei, vocatur *Somahirenus*.' There is clearly here a corruption of the text, which can be cleared up only by an examination of the MSS.

We must now refer to two other statements in the Talmud, which have reference to the new species of writing introduced by Ezra. R. Levi (a Palestinian rabbi of the third century) says⁴, in reference to the tables of the Law, that 'if they were written in old Ibri characters, the ך must have stood there by a miracle, and if they were written in Assyrian, the ם must have stood there by a miracle.' This has to be explained in the following way. The Biblical passage, where it is said that 'the tables were written on both their sides, on the one side and on the other were they written' (Exodus xxxii. 15), is interpreted to mean that the letters when engraved were cut through the whole thickness of the stone. Consequently the ך, which forms on the Maccabean coins a circle or triangle, and the ם, which has a circular form in later Aramaic, and in the Hebrew square writing, when cut through the whole thickness of the monument, must have stood in their place by

¹ Ezra vi. 22.

² See for the passages Herzfeld, *op. cit.* (note 4 on p. 1), p. 90. The Syrian Tatian is called an Assyrian.

³ See above, p. 11.

⁴ *Jer. Talmud*, Megillah, i. 9 עין מעשה א"ר לוי סאן דא' לרעץ ניתנה החורה עין מעשה נסים. נסים. סאן דא' אשורי ניתנה החורה ססך מעשה נסים.

a miracle. R. Hida makes a similar statement¹, saying, that if the tables were written in 'Assyrian' writing, the final ם and the ם stood there by a miracle. From the last statement we must conclude that the final form of the ם, or perhaps of all the five letters ם, ם, ם, ם, and ם, was established in the third century A.D. We shall, however, find two of these final letters on a monument of the first century B.C.²

The tradition is thus pretty general that a new form of writing was introduced after the exile for copying scripture, and the early tradition attributed it to Ezra. Now there is no reason why we should not agree with this tradition of the rabbis and the early Christian fathers. There is in fact nothing else possible, but to admit that the Pentateuch, (for this book was the first to be multiplied by copies,) was simultaneously written in the old Ibri and in the Aramaic characters, before either of them was declared sacred. The one once being declared sacred, the other would not have been accepted by the schools without prolonged discussion; and there is no trace of such discussions in the early or later schools. To say that the old *Ibri* characters developed gradually into the Aramaic³, a process which would have required scores of years, if not centuries, implies an ignorance of the character of the Jews after their return from exile. They would not have exchanged the one form of writing for the other when its sanctity had once impressed itself on the mind of the nation through its use in transcribing scripture. A clear proof of human obstinacy in adhering to a particular form of characters when once declared sacred, is that the Samaritans, who must surely have been in contact with Aramaic writing, still kept to the old characters which long use had made them consider sacred, after the modified Aramaic characters were already in general use, not only amongst the Jews, but amongst the populations of Egypt, Syria, and the

¹ *Bab. Talmud*, Shabbath, fol. 104^a וְסָמָּ וְסָמָּ שְׁנֵי לְוָחוֹת בָּנָם 104^a אמר רב חסדא סם וסם
היו עומדין.

² See p. 17.

³ A. Geiger, *op. cit.* (note 2 on p. 3), p. 43.

Mediterranean coast. It is therefore very probable that the two forms of script were employed simultaneously in the Pentateuch until the Maccabean wars, when nearly all the copies of it were probably destroyed, and scripture could only be restored by means of copies from Mesopotamia and Babylonia which were written in the Aramaic characters, used at the time in these countries and also in Egypt. These characters already closely resemble the so-called square letters, though in a still undeveloped state, as can be seen from the Egyptian papyri of the third and second century, several of which bear marks of Hebrew¹. The Jews of the better class were now generally acquainted with the Aramaic mode of writing, and there was consequently no difficulty in introducing it into the synagogues and schools. The Samaritans, however, retained their old writing which had become holy by long use, and have not admitted a change of characters down to our own days.

As for the other biblical books, we believe that they were written in Aramaic characters solely from the beginning, since no early use was made of them in the service of the Temple, and they were not the object of exegesis in the schools of the priests. Most likely the Psalms were recited in the Temple, and the lessons from the Prophets were delivered from memory by professional men. This seems to us to be the reason why the Samaritans accepted no book of Holy Scripture except the Pentateuch, which alone was written both in old *Ibri* and in Aramaic characters. This fact, however, would not exclude the possibility that parts of the earlier Prophets, of the Psalms and of other records, may have been preserved in the old *Ibri* characters in private hands. It is also possible that many apocryphal books were not received into the Canon because they were written in old *Ibri* letters; what other reason² could there have been

¹ *Corpus Inscr. Sem.*, part ii. pp. 137 and 148 sqq., and our table. See also Nöldeke in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 9th ed., vol. xxi. p. 647.

² The reason given, that it was rejected because it bore the name of the author, does not seem plausible.

for rejecting the book of Sirach, for instance, which is of as early a date as 200 B. C., and contains nothing but ethical aphorisms, which are not at variance with any Biblical record? An early Greek translation of it was made by the grandson of the author in Egypt, because the Egyptian Jews not only knew imperfectly the Hebrew tongue, but perhaps also because they could not read the old Ibri character. Thus, instead of transcribing it into Aramaic characters, it was thought preferable to make a Greek translation of it for more general use.

We are inclined to believe that the Septuagint version was made from a copy or copies of the Pentateuch, written in Aramaic characters as far developed in the direction of the square forms as in the Egyptian papyri of 300 to 100 B. C., or in the Hebrew inscription of Gezer about 200 B. C.¹ We shall not insist upon the frequent confusion between *vaw* and *yod*, the forms of both being nearly the same, as may be seen from the name of מר, written on the margins of the Greek translation ΠΙΠΙ². Indeed, although it is evident from the passage in Matthew³ that the *yod* was the smallest letter in the time of Christ, and although it is in this form that we find it on the Aramaic papyri of Egypt, 100 B. C., as well as in the epitaph of the family Hēzir, in Jerusalem, about the same date, and constantly in the Palmyrene inscriptions of 9 B. C.⁴, it is nevertheless almost identical with the *vaw* on the inscription of the synagogue of Kefr Ber'em in Galilee, of the second century A. D. And from the rule, which we find in the Talmud as late as the fifth century A. D., that the professional scribes of the Pentateuch scrolls must take care not to write *yod* like *vaw*, it is plain that these two letters were still liable to be confused at a very late date⁵.

¹ See our table of alphabets.

² Jerome says erroneously that it was written in archaic characters. See Gesenius, *op. cit.* (note 3 on p. 1), p. 176.

³ Mat. v. 18.

⁴ See for all these inscriptions the table of alphabets.

⁵ Prof. Graetz, *op. cit.* (note 2 on p. 1), p. 407, concludes that the Gospel of St. Matthew must be later than the Kefr Ber'em inscription, which is scarcely admissible.

We shall pass over the confusion of letters occurring in proper names in the Hebrew text and in the Septuagint. But when we find, in Gen. xlix. 22, what follows according to the A. V. in agreement with the Hebrew text: 'Joseph is a fruitful bough (Heb. son), *even* a fruitful bough (son) by a well; whose branches (Heb. daughters) run over the wall;' translated in the LXX: Ὑῖδος ἡϋξημένος Ἰωσήφ, υἱὸς ἡϋξημένος μου ζηλωτός, υἱὸς μου νεώτατος πρὸς με ἀνάστρεψον, we have to suppose the following text for the latter part of the verse (we have not been able to hit upon one for μου ζηλωτός): בנות צעדה עלִי שור בני הצערי עלִי שור instead of עלִי שור (read צעדה) בנות צעדה. Now the confusion between ה and ח and between כ and ק can only be explained by the help of advanced Aramaic, as in the papyri. In verse 14 where the A. V. renders by 'Issachar is a strong ass,' the LXX translate Ἰσάχαρ τὸ καλὸν ἐπεθύμησεν, which would represent in Hebrew יסאכר חמור, and if so, as the confusion between כ and ס is only possible in the same advanced Aramaic characters, it points to the same conclusion. An investigation into the various forms of characters in which scripture lay before the Greek translators by the reconstruction of the text according to their translation would certainly clear up many doubts. But any one who would undertake this laborious task must bear in mind, that the Greek translators, like the Targumists, sometimes followed the interpretation current in the schools of the time, so that a different translation does not always imply a different text, more especially in prophetic passages.

Of course we must not suppose that the earliest copies with square characters were specimens of calligraphic art, such as are to be found in our present MSS. We have only to look at the following scanty inscriptions which exist written in Hebrew square characters; they are (1) that of Araq-el-Emir¹ consisting of five letters, which according to a photograph read ערביה or ערביה, and which we believe is of

¹ Chwolson, *op. cit.* (note 7 on p. 2), p. 55, reproduced more exactly from a photograph in Dr. Driver's *Notes on Samuel*, p. xxii.

state that the dates of the epitaphs found in the Crimea, the earliest of which is dated 6 A. D., are all forgeries, and that none of them is earlier than 1250¹; we shall see subsequently that this is the case as regards the dates of some Pentateuch scrolls, one of which bears the date of 489 A. D.

We have seen that the undeveloped forms of the 'square' letters are to be found in the papyri of 400 B. C., and more distinctly on the stele of Saqqarah 482 B. C. In the lately discovered Aramaic inscriptions of Teima, which are at the latest of the fourth century B. C., the square form of the η is already met with². Thus the new Aramaic writing may safely be attributed to Ezra or his immediate successors, and be considered as having been simultaneously used along with the old Ibri letters, passing out of use after the triumph of the Maccabees—except among the Samaritans—for Biblical texts. It was at that time when the MSS. of the Pentateuch became rare that new copies exclusively in Aramaic characters were introduced among the Jews.

We have a vague statement in the Talmud which refers generally to that epoch. It is said³ that three books (Pentateuchs) were found in the Temple (Azarah), by the majority of which variations of reading were settled. We learn from this how the men who fixed the text of scripture must have gone to work. And the fact that the introduction of the new writing is not mentioned, indicates that it must have been almost universal at the time. The MSS. referred to in the passage were destroyed (or had long since perished), and their places were taken by new ones. No doubt, the same was the case with all MSS. of later date, the new ones causing the older ones to disappear. The result of printing the Talmud is a striking illustration of this. There is now only one complete MS. of it at Munich, and this of com-

¹ See Dr. Harkavy's essay, *Altjüdische Denkmäler aus der Krim*, in the *Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg*, vii^e série, t. xxiv, No. 1 (1876), p. 168 sqq.

² *Corp. Inscr. Sem.*, part ii. t. i. p. 107 sqq.

³ *Palæst. Talmud*, Ta'anith, iv. 2.

paratively late date. Yet it is certain that at least each school belonging to various congregations had a copy of the Talmud, while there were also many in private hands.

After the destruction of the second Temple in the time of the Mishnah, there were many copies of the Old Testament in existence; we find, for instance, the mention of glosses in a copy made by R. Meir¹, a great doctor and a professional scribe. Curiously enough some of these glosses or various readings have been lately discovered in a Midrash, compiled before 1280 A. D.², where it is said that they were taken from a scroll carried away by the Romans after the capture of Jerusalem³. This is the earliest MS. known of the Law or the Pentateuch, though lost like many others, but out of which not less than thirty-two variations from our Massoretic text are preserved. Josephus, in his description of the triumph which Vespasian held at Rome after his capture of Jerusalem, says amongst other things⁴: 'But for those that were taken in the Temple of Jerusalem, they made the greatest figure of them all: that is the golden table, of the weight of many talents; the candlestick also, that was made of gold, . . . and last of all the spoils was carried the law of the Jews.' Towards the end of the same chapter he says, that whilst Vespasian laid up in the Temple of Peace, as ensigns of his glory, those golden vessels and instruments that were taken from the Jewish Temple, he gave orders that they should deposit their law, and the purple veils of the holy place, in the royal palace itself, and keep them there. What was the reason that the great conqueror took such care to carry with him a copy of the Law, and assign to it such an honourable place,

¹ See the Rev. Isidore Harris's essay, *The Rise and the Development of the Massorah*, in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. i. p. 134.

² The Midrash is quoted very often by Raymundus Martini in his *Pugio Adet*, composed in 1278. See *The Expositor*, 1888 (vol. 7), p. 100 sqq.

³ See the essay of Herr A. Epstein, *Ein von Titus nach Rom gebrachter Pentateuch-Codex und seine Varianten*, in the *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, 1885, p. 338 sqq. Also 1886, p. 274 sqq.

⁴ *Wars*, VII. v. 7.

whilst Titus, as Josephus mentions¹, presented him with many other codices captured by him, and whilst on the other hand, as the Talmud relates² in a legend, they were destroyed and profaned by him and his soldiers? No doubt it must have been a precious copy of the Law to which the Temple authorities attached special value, and this copy reached Rome about 70 A. D. Of course this precious scroll was destroyed with many other treasures of the city of the world together with the vessels of the Jerusalem Temple. This precious MS., however, did not always remain in the imperial palace, for it was handed over to a synagogue after 220 A. D. In a Midrash³, attributed to Rabbi Moses, the preacher, at Narbonne, thirty-two variants are mentioned in the Pentateuch, found in the copy of the Law which was taken from Jerusalem to Rome and preserved in the synagogue of Asverus. (The Aramaic wording of this sentence may claim to be authentic.) Before mentioning a few of the most important variations, the synagogue of Asverus has to be identified. This has been done ingeniously by Herr A. Epstein⁴ in a German essay of which we shall reproduce the substance. Asverus according to Oriental spelling represents the name of Severus. Now there might have been a synagogue at Rome built by a proselyte named Severus, although this is improbable, since the proselytes received usually Hebrew names. Besides, by what influence could a private person obtain a treasure laid up in the imperial palace? But let us see if we cannot find traces of an emperor Severus who was friendly to the Jews as Julian was. The Palestinian Talmud⁵ relates that Antoninus obtained information at the school of Rabbi (the editor of the Mishnah) about the building of an altar and about preparing incense, a fact from which we may conclude that this emperor intended to build for the Jews of Rome a place of worship similar to that of Jerusalem. This Antoninus has been iden-

¹ *Vita*, 75.² *Bab. Talmud*, Gittin, fol. 66^b.³ See above, p. 19, note 2.⁴ See above, p. 19, note 3.⁵ *Megillah*, i. 11.

4th. - 3000. pag. 7.
 Discovered
 by the
 Vatican
 in 1893.
 syn. Severus
 1893.

tified with very good reason by the eminent historian of the Jews, Prof. Graetz¹, with Antoninus Alexander Severus. On the other hand we may infer from Lampridius² that Severus was considered a friend of the Jews. Lampridius relates that Severus was called at a public feast by men of Alexandria and Antiochia 'Archisynagogus and high-priest.' This is perhaps a direct allusion to the synagogue built by him with a kind of altar in it. To this synagogue the emperor probably transferred the precious scroll, out of which the compiler of the Midrash reports thirty-two variations, which are now published according to two MSS.³ We shall only mention a few striking ones; some of them are corrupt in the MSS. and not intelligible as yet. In Genesis xviii. 21, 22 we read, 'And the Lord said, Because the cry of Sodom and Gomorrah is great, and because their sin is very grievous, I will go down now, and see whether they have done altogether according to the cry of it, which is come unto me.' The Asverus MS. reads הכצעקתם 'their cry,' which is parallel to 'their sin' in the previous verse. Indeed the Septuagint translates *ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ* and so also the Aramaic translations, *הכקבילתון*. In Gen. xxiv. 7 'The Lord God of heaven, which took me from my father's house, and from the land of my kindred,' lit. from the land of my birth. The A. V. by translating 'of my kindred' avoided the difficulty, that Abraham was born at Ur Kasdim, whilst his family settled at Haran. The Asverus scroll has 'from my father's house and from my land' (ומארי). Gen. xlviii. 7 'And I buried her (Rachel) in the way of Ephrath, the same is Bethlehem.' This is in the first instance a geographical difficulty. Besides, according to 1 Samuel x. 2 and Jeremiah xxxi. 15, Rachel's grave was in the land of Benjamin, and not in Judah. The Asverus scroll has only 'And I buried her on the way.' R. Meir also says distinctly, according to the Siphre, that Rachel died in the territory of

¹ *Monatschrift, etc.* (note 3 on p. 19), 1852, p. 430 sqq.

² *Ad Alexandrum Severum*, Cap. 28.

³ See *Monatschrift, etc.* (note 3 on p. 19), 1887, p. 508, where we find the reading of דסירוס instead of דסאירוס.

Benjamin¹. This scroll omits the two names of the towns Adma and Zeboim after Sodom and Gomorrah in Deut. xxix. 22 (23). Indeed the four cities are nowhere else mentioned together. Some of the variations to be found in the Asverus scroll are also quoted in the Midrash² from a MS. written by R. Meir. That the variations in this MS. are not an invention of the Talmudists may be seen from Jerome, who says in his commentary on Isaiah xxi. 11: 'The burden of Dumah, that some Jews read *Rumah* for *Dumah*, which means to say that they apply this prophecy to Rome. And the Talmud states that in the MS. of R. Meir, *Rumah* stood in the place of *Dumah* ³.' One fact is clear from the Asverus MS., viz. that although the text of the Pentateuch was in constant use in the synagogues from an early time and therefore better fixed than that of the other Biblical books, still there were not less than thirty-two variations from the Massoretic text, a fact which ought to be taken into consideration by the adversaries of Biblical criticism.

It cannot be doubted that the Jews, when dispersed over the world, were provided with copies of the Pentateuch, from the Babylonian and the Palestinian schools, besides the lessons of the Prophets, or the *Haftaroth*, the Psalms, the five 'Megilloth,' and the book of Job, which were all used in the synagogues on the sabbath, festivals, and fast days. Not a leaf of these copies is known at present to exist. We may ask where are the copies without vowel-points, which were certainly not introduced before the sixth century at the earliest? Did they all perish in the frequent persecutions of the Jews, or were they destroyed when the vowel-points were introduced, or do fragments of them still exist in some old synagogue, hidden away in remote corners? We hope that the last suggestion may prove to be the correct one, and that after thorough searching in the East, some of these

¹ See Herr Epstein's discussion on this point in the *Monatsschrift*, etc. (note 3 on p. 19), 1887, p. 345.

² *B'reshith Rabba*, chaps. ix, xx.

³ *Palæst. Talmud*, Ta'anith, i. 1.

fragments may be brought to light, as was the case with the MS. of A.D. 916, now at St. Petersburg. Many MSS., now lost, are indeed mentioned in the Massorah as well as in early commentators and in Hebrew chronicles. In the first instance, we may mention the famous codex Hilleli, attributed by some to Hillel the elder—which it is unnecessary to prove cannot be the case. Abraham Zakkuth (in his chronicle, composed about 1500) states that on the 28th of Ab, of the year 4957 A. M. = 14th of August, 1197 A.D., there was a great persecution at Leon, in Spain. At that time the famous and very correct codex, which was written 600 years before that time, viz. about 600 A.D., by Hillel¹, and therefore called Hilleli, was carried away from Leon, and was used for the collation and correction of existing MSS. 'I saw of it', says Zakkuth, 'the parts containing the Prophets, written in large and carefully executed characters, at Bugia, in Africa, whither it was brought by the exiles from Portugal.' According to David Qamhi's statement in his grammar, the Pentateuch of this famous MS. was some time at Toledo. A newly acquired MS. in the Bodleian Library², written at Cairo, 1564, reads more correctly, 'written by Hillel son of Moses son of Hillel,' and thus the name of Hilleli is justified³. We know a scribe named Moses ben Hillel, who

¹ So in ed. princeps (3 E, 1^b) and other editions according to it. Ed. Filippowski (according to the MS. of Oxford, No. 2202 of our catalogue) has (fol. 220^a) Moses ben Hillel (see the article of Prof. H. L. Strack, in the *Zeitschrift für Lutherische Theologie*, 1875, p. 599).

² We read in the MS. Hebr. d. 16, of the Bodleian Library, the following: בשנה: חתקלו [1.15*] ביום לא לירח אב היה שמו גדול בסלכות ליואן משני מלכים שבאו עליהם בסבצר אחר ואו הוציאו משם הלך ספרים שהיו כתובים קודם לכן כמו שש מאות שנה שכתב אותם ר' הלל בן משה בן הלל ועל שמו נקרא ההלילי שהיו סרויקות ומחם מגיהים כל הספרים ואני ראיתי השני מקראות נביאים ראשונים ואחרונים מכתבת אותיות גדולות וסרויקות שהביאו מנרש מרשומאל [] בגויאח באסריקה ושם הם שיש עתה מ' מאות שנה שנכתבו והקסמי בחלק הקדוק קודם שדבר על הקדוק למען חזקו אומ' כי החומש מן ההלילי היה בשוליסלה.

³ Consequently our suggestion (*Jewish Chronicle*, 1886, fol. 12^a, 22 January, where a part of this paper is printed), that the Hilleli may have been written at Hillah, near Bagdad, and therefore called Hillali, must be abandoned.

* See Graetz, *Gesch. der Juden*, t. vi. p. 212, where we read 9 Ab instead of 28.

copied a MS. of the Hagiographa, now in St. Petersburg, in the year 994 A.D.¹ Whether our Hillel is the son of this Moses, or an ancestor, is difficult to decide, for the date which Zakkuth gives cannot be exact. The Hilleli codex is at present lost, but lists of the variations in it are to be found in a number of MSS., some of which have been published in Dr. Ginsburg's edition of the Massorah. Variations from a great number of standard codices are also mentioned. There are the Eastern and Western codices, the variations of the schools of Surâ and Nehardea in Babylonia, the Zanbuqi (probably of the locality Zambuk, on the Tigris), the codex of Bagdad (called also *Shargi* (Eastern), and Babi, and probably identical with the Eastern codex mentioned above), the codices of Erfurt, of Jerusalem, of Jericho (Lunel), of Lombard (Lombardy), of Sinai (Rothenburg?), of Tiberias, of Würzburg, the revised codices (מורה, מורה, or מורה קרמן), codices of Ezra², of R. Gershom (of Metz), R. Jacob (of Ramerupt?), the Great *Mahzorâ*, and many others, the titles of which are doubtful³.

The most numerous and widely-copied variations (chiefly bearing on vowel-points) are from the two Massoretes called Aaron ben-Asher and Mosheh ben-Naphtali. The codex of the latter is lost, unless the colophon of a Petersburg MS. is genuine, which states the following: 'I, Moses the scribe, son of R. David son of R. Naphtali, have carefully arranged according to . . . in the year 1234 as we count at Aleppo (i. e. the era of the Seleucidae), or 853 years after the destruction of the second Temple, or 4682 A. M. (which gives the year 922 A.D.)⁴.' The codex of Aaron (Abu Said) ben-Asher was believed to be at the great synagogue at Aleppo, but it has been proved by Dr. Wickes⁵, with whom others agree⁶, that this cannot be

¹ Strack, *l. c.* (note 1 on p. 23).

² See *Revue des Études juives*, t. xix. p. 242, note 2.

³ See Dr. Ginsburg's edition of the Massorah, i. fol. 604 sqq.

⁴ Strack, *op. cit.* (note 1 on p. 23), p. 617.

⁵ See *A Treatise on the Accentuation of the Twenty-one so-called Prose Books of the Old Testament*, Oxford, 1887, p. vii sqq.

⁶ See *Revue des Études juives*, t. xv. p. 316.

the case; in fact, according to the facsimile of a page which is given in his excellent book, the MS. seems to be of the eleventh century, if not of a later date. The MS. of the Prophets belonging to the Karaite synagogue at Cairo was written¹, according to the colophon (at the end of the Minor Prophets) which we shall reproduce later on, by Moses ben-Asher in the year 827 of the destruction of the second Temple = 895 A. D. This MS. would consequently contain the oldest text of the Hebrew Bible known at present. But from the mode of accentuation in this MS., Drs. S. Baer and Wickes both concluded that it could not have been pointed by a Massorete of the Ben-Asher school, the accentuation being against the rules laid down by Ben-Asher. In facsimile No. 1, which we have obtained, together with No. 2, through the kindness of Dr. Lansing, of Cairo², containing 1 Samuel iv. 15 to v. 8, the lighter metheg is omitted in the words וַיָּמָן (iv. 16, col. 1, line 5), וַיִּמָּן (iv. 17, col. 1, l. 12), בִּי זָקֵן (v. 18, col. 1, l. 18), and in other places, which would not be the case in a Ben-Asher codex. Sometimes the metheg is in the wrong place, for instance, in בִּי קֶשֶׁתָּהּ (v. 6, col. 3, l. 16) and כֹּחַ נֶעֱשֶׂה (v. 7, col. 3, l. 20), not in conformity with the rules of Ben-Asher. The colophon of facsimile No. 2 must either have been copied from another codex, as is the case with the Aleppo MS.³, or it is a forgery altogether; indeed the style of it would justify our taking it as such. Both MSS. seem to be written, if not by the same scribe, at all events by the same school of copyists. This codex is, to judge from the facsimiles, of the eleventh and perhaps even of the beginning of the twelfth century. Dr. Harkavy, who had the opportunity of examining this MS. three years ago, when on a literary tour in the East, informs us that he is of the same opinion concerning the date of this MS.

¹ According to Miss M. Wall between 4to and folio, as the MS. is as near square as possible, measuring 20 x 18 inches, 3 cols. of 23 lines each.

² Miss Wall, of Southport, has favoured us with four other photographs of this MS., but they are unfortunately not in a state to be used for our purpose.

³ See above, p. 24.

The colophon reads as follows¹:

Col. 1. אני משה בן אשר כתבתי זה המחזור
שלמקרא על פי כיד אלהי הטובה עלי
באר היטב במדינת מעוזי מבריה
העיר התוללה כשהביטו עדת נביאים
בחורי יי קדוש אלהינו המבינים כל
נסתרות והמשפירים סוד חכמה אילי
הצדק אנשי אמונה לא כיהדו דבר ממה
שניתן להם ולא הוסיפו מאמר על מה
שניסר להם והעצימו והגדילו המס
עשרים וארבעה ספרים ויסדום
באמונתם במעמי שכל בפירוש דיבור
בחד מתוק ביופי מאמר יהי רצון
מלפני יוצרנו שיאיר עינינו ויניח לבנו
בתורתו ללמד וללמד ולעשות בלב שלם
ובנפש חפצה ולכל ישראל אמן

נכתב לקץ שמונה מאות שנה ועשרים
ושבע שנים לחורבן הבית השני שיאמר
יוצר נשמות וישוב עליו ברחמים ויבנהו
באבני אקדה וספיר וכדבר בנין שלם בנין
מקיים בנין שלא יתש ולא יחרס ולא יתח
לעולם ולעולמי עולמים במהרה בימינו
ובימי כל ישראל אמן

Col. 2. וכל המשנה מן המחזור
הזה או מן הנשתן הזה
דבר או מוחק ממנו אות
או קורע ממנו דף אלא אם
כן יבין וידע שיש בו דבר
ששנינו בו בכתב או בניקוד
או במסרת או בחסר או
ביתר אל יהי לו לא מחילה
ולא סליחה ואל יחזה בנעם

¹ See *Eben Sappir*, i. (Lyck, 1866; Sappir on the title-page of ii, Mainz, 1874), p. 14^b, and *Monatschrift*, etc. (note 3 on p. 19), 1871, p. 4.

י' ולא יראה בטוב הצפון
 ליראיו ויהיה כאשה נדה
 וכמצורע מוסר לכתת
 אבריו ולשבור גאון עזו
 ולכלות בשרו מראי ולשפות
 עצמותיו שלא יראו אמן

חקורא ישמע
 חדשומע יבין
 ודרואה ישכיל
 שלום

The late Rabbi Jacob Sappir¹ and Dr. S. Baer² are of opinion that the characters with which the MS. is written are Sefaradic or Spanish; to us it seems to have been written in the East, and most likely in Syria. The characters are indeed different from those found in the facsimile of the Cambridge MS.³, which is executed in Spanish characters.

Thus the codex Babylonicus of the later Prophets, dated 1227 Sel., which is 916 A. D., remains the oldest MS. known now. The old codices, viz. the Hilleli (according to Zakuth's description), the codex Babylonicus, the Cairo and Aleppo MSS. are written in large characters, and so are, if we are not mistaken by a hurried glance at those at St. Petersburg in 1877, the codices of the earliest dates, viz. from 922 to 1051 A. D.

We have said that the codex Babylonicus of 916 is the oldest Hebrew Biblical MS. known at present. In order to justify this date, it must in the first place be pointed out that the colophon of the famous Pentateuch scroll at St. Petersburg, which gives the date of 489 A. D., is simply a forgery⁴. But there is the MS. No. 12 at the University Library, Cambridge, written by Jacob Levi and finished the seventh of the month

¹ *Eben Sappir*, i. p. 14^b.

² Private communication, dated July 1890.

³ See facsimiles, Nos. 3 and 4.

⁴ See the Catalogue of the Hebrew MSS. in the Imperial Library of St. Petersburg (in German), i. ii, by A. Harkavy and H. L. Strack, 1875, p. 12 sqq.

of Adar 616 A.M., or 208 of the construction of the Temple, which makes 18th of February, 856 A.D.; this date, which has not been accepted by any scholar who has discussed the subject, was firmly believed by the author of the first part of the catalogue of the Hebrew MSS. in the University Library at Cambridge, which appeared in 1876, to be genuine¹. We propose to mention first what has been said by others about the date of this MS. before giving our own opinion. Kennicott in 1753², after having given a short description of the MS., writes as follows: 'This MS. was writ by *Jacob Levi*, and is dated ל'ט"ז ח'ס'ר ל'א'ת'ר' without explaining or translating this date. He omitted the second date, which refers to the year of the construction of the Temple. In the *variae lectiones*, Kennicott gives many variations of this MS., which seem to amount to 12,000. He was taken to task for this incomplete description by an anonymous Abbé³ in 1771, who reproaches him rightly for not having given the second date as well, and for not explaining both, for, says the Abbé, The date from the construction of the Temple could refer to the first, second, or third (Herodian) Temple. We omit the dates proposed by the Abbé, which would not add much to our subject. As to the variations given from this MS., the Abbé divided them into various classes.

1. Variations which represent no language at all; for instance: Gen. xxx. 22, the MS. reads אלהים instead of אליה; Lev. xxvii. 11 לזה instead of ליהוה; Deut. i. 25 וירדו instead of ויורדו; Joshua [מרחון instead of מירחו] xvi. 10 הנעני instead of הנכנעי, and xxiv. 11 ויאמרי instead of האמרי; Judges ix. 1 לאמר instead of למר.

¹ *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts preserved in the University Library, Cambridge*, by the late Dr. S. M. Schiller-Sainsbury, vol. i. (all that has appeared), containing Sections 1. The Holy Scriptures; II. Commentaries on the Bible, Cambridge, 1876, No. 12 (p. 12 sqq.).

² *The State of the Printed Hebrew Text of the Old Testament considered. A dissertation in two parts*, Oxford, 1753, p. 342.

³ *Lettres de M. l'Abbé de . . . ex-professeur en hébreu en l'université de . . . au Sr. Kennicott anglois*, Rome, 1771, p. 24 sqq.

2. Variations which, although representing good Hebrew, give no sense in the respective passages where they occur. For instance: Exodus xxxii. 26 *אלי* for *אלו*; Lev. iv. 35 *אתה* instead of *אתם*; Numbers xxi. 7 *ויאמר* instead of *ויאמרו*; Deut. xxi. 2 *העיר* instead of *הערים*; Joshua v. 14 *לו* instead of *לא*; Judges ix. 51 *ועל* instead of *ויעלו*; 1 Sam. xvi. 13 *רח אלהים* instead of *רח ייחוד*.

3. Confusion of ב and נ, ג and נ, ד and ר, ה and ח, and ט and ס. For instance: 1 Sam. xxv. 16 *הִפָּה* instead of *חומה*; 2 Sam. xxi. 18 *בנוב* instead of *בנוב*; 1 Kings iii. 6 *ביום הזה* instead of *ביום הזה*; 1 Kings xvii. 20 *מתערר* instead of *מתערר*; Prov. vi. 3 *החרפם* instead of *החרפם*. The Abbé adds rightly that similar mistakes are to be found in other MSS., written by either inexperienced or ignorant copyists, but which no one would expect from an early MS. [and still less of such an early date as 856]. The Abbé adds that of these three kinds of mistakes he could produce at least 1400 variations.

4. Original mistakes, which are corrected by a later hand. For instance: Gen. xxxviii. 28 *ברלחה* corrected into *בלרחה*; Ex. ii. 16 *לקשקת* into *לחשקת*; Lev. vi. 13 *תמים* into *תמיד*. Of this kind of mistake there are at least 234 instances.

5. Additional words by the original scribe which yield no sense whatever. For instance: Gen. ii. 9 *הקן [ומשם]*, xxxvii. 17, *ויאמר [וילך יוסף האיש נסען]*; Ex. xviii. 24 *משה [מה]*, xxv. 1 *משה [יתוח]*; Num. xi. 1 *באני יתוח*; Deut. ii. 31 *ואת ארצו [לקראתנו הוא]*. There are at least 330 additions of this kind in the MS.

6. There are more than 300 erasures. For instance: Gen. ii. 22 *הצלע*, where the *צ* is written on an erasure; vi. 21 *לך ולחם*, between these two words are three or four letters erased.

7. There are more than 630 omissions, among them eleven entire verses, omissions which naturally destroy the sense of the passages. For instance: Gen. i. 26 *הרמש* is missing, iii. 15 the words *ובן זרעך* are absent.

¹ The words in [] are the additional ones.

8. Nearly 450 words or letters are doubtful; no example is given here.

9. There are nearly 120 repetitions, amongst them three verses, viz. Gen. xxxi. 12; Ex. vi. 17; Isaiah xi. 10. For repetitions of words the following instances are given: Gen. xiii. 2 ואברם, xvii. 8 מנריך את כל הארץ, xxviii. 6 אל לכן בן בתואל. הארמי אחי רבקה אם יעקב ועשו.

10. Transpositions. For instance: Jer. xlvi. 10 ליהח לארני; Judges x. 6 ואת אלוהי מואב ואת אלוהי צידון צידון. The Abbé consequently laughs at Kennicott for his producing 12,000 variations from this MS.

Many of these blunders are corrected either on the margin or above the corresponding words.

In the letter to a friend, 1772¹, in defence of Kennicott and against the *Abbé*, not much is said concerning our MS., except that the variation Joshua v. 14 is excellent, which is to be compared with the Greek and Syriac versions, and 'with the context.' We think that the context requires לא.

In the *Dissertatio generalis*, cod. 89², Kennicott gives a fuller description of the MS., discussing the two dates, and the state of some of the letters in it; and comes finally to the following result: 'Eadem mecum in sententia est Cl. Brunnus, scil. codicem hunc non esse antiquiorem seculo 13.' De Rossi³ accepts Kennicott's conclusion. The late Dr. Zunz⁴ has ingeniously explained the concordance of the two dates, viz. 616 of the creation and 208 of the construction of the Temple, in the following way. The Jewish chronology places the construction of the second Temple in the year 3408 A.M., and the interval between 4616 A.M. and 3408 A.M. makes 1208, which is expressed by the second

¹ Letter to a Friend occasioned by a French Pamphlet lately published against Doctor Kennicott and his Collation of the Hebrew MSS., London (Oxford), 1772.

² *Dissertatio generalis in Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum*, etc., fol. (Oxford, 1771, as a preface to the *Variae Lectiones*) 78; 8vo. (with Brun's notes, Brunovici, 1785), p. 374 sqq.

³ *Variae Lectiones V. T.*, etc., Parma, 1784, p. lxiii^b.

⁴ *Zur Geschichte und Litteratur*, i. p. 214.

date 208 omitting the thousand. He adds that 'the date of 856 A.D. is however an evident falsification, since the MS. is much later.' Had Dr. Zunz seen the MS.? We must suppose so from his words. We may sum up the opinion of modern scholars thus. Drs. Steinschneider¹, Wickes², and Ginsburg³, all three (who have the greatest experience in Hebrew palaeography) agree in the date of the thirteenth century, and the late Professor W. Wright, as editor of the Oriental series of the London Palaeographical Society, did not produce a specimen page of this MS. as a dated and early Hebrew MS., for the reason that he did not believe the dates genuine. During all this time we heard that Dr. Schiller-Szinessy firmly believed that the text of this MS. was really finished in 856, and scholars interested in the palaeography of Biblical MSS. were eagerly expecting the issue of the first part of the catalogue of the Hebrew MSS. at Cambridge, in order to see what his arguments might be. At last the long expected work saw the light in 1876, where we read⁴ that the 'bare text' (written by a different hand from that of the pointer and accentuator, who is himself again different from the writer of the Massorah, to which comes a fourth hand for the ornaments, and a fifth and sixth for minor points) is in a fine *Sephardic* handwriting, dated Adar 616 (18 February, 856). Further on⁵, Dr. Schiller-Szinessy says that the text must have been executed in Palestine, although not in Jerusalem, and as to the date of the copy 'a minute and careful examination of the MS. shows that the reasons which have hitherto been alleged are wholly insufficient to condemn it as a forgery.' For further details the reader is referred

¹ *Hebräische Bibliographie*, xix (1879), p. 70. Dr. Steinschneider thinks that Jacob Levi's rhymes in the colophon seem to be written by an untrained Ashkenasi (German Jew), but that is not the case, as can be seen from the photographic reproduction of the two pages, where the characters are distinctly of the Hispanico-Portuguese school.

² See *A Treatise on the Accentuation* (note 5 on p. 24), p. ix.

³ From personal communication.

⁴ *Catalogue, etc.* (note 1 on p. 28), p. 12 sqq.

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 14.

to Excursus I at the end of the catalogue. This excursus was promised as early as 1872¹, but nothing has been heard of it, and perhaps we shall not be far from the truth when we say that nothing could have been heard of it, for the simple reason that the author of the catalogue had no proofs of the antiquity of the MS. Had he some reasonable ones in store, he would not have attempted to refute Dr. Wickes some years ago² by saying that he has the dullest understanding, that a man must be a born palaeographer to judge of the age of Hebrew MSS., and finally by referring to a private MS. without giving a single fact concerning it. These are not arguments, and if he had no others for his excursus it is certainly as well that it has never seen the light.

We have learnt³ how ignorant and incompetent the copyist of this MS. must have been from the Abbé's letter, the statements of which we have duly collated and found exact; besides, Kennicott himself did not contradict them. Is it indeed possible that a scribe who wrote long before the great Massorete Ben-Asher⁴, at a time when the greatest care was bestowed on copying, should have made such blunders as those mentioned above; and that too in Palestine, the cradle of the Western punctuation? But what is Dr. Schiller-Szinessy's argument for his suggestion that the copyist wrote in Palestine? He gives us a fragment of his Excursus *in spe*; and says that 'it will be seen from the words בקרב עמנו שבעבר נהרה (comp. Josh. xxiv. 2, etc., and Is. vii. 20), which occur in the colophon⁵, where Jacob Levi says "the voice of the messenger may be heard soon for the gathering of our nation on the other side of the river."' Dr. Schiller-Szinessy thought that 'the other side of the river' means Mesopotamia, and supposes accordingly that the scribe lived in Palestine, whereas 'the other side of the river' in the middle ages means the lost

¹ See his paper on the Prideaux scroll, in the *Transactions of the Society of Bibl. Archaeology*, 1872, p. 265.

² *The Academy*, 5 November, 1887, p. 304.

³ See above, p. 28 sqq.

⁴ See above, p. 24.

⁵ See the facsimile, No. 4, line 10, and below, p. 35.

tribes on the other side of the river called 'Sambatyon¹'. Indeed, there is no instance in Jewish liturgy or poetry of special notice being taken of the Babylonian Jews; there was a prayer for the schools of Babylonia which flourished from 300-900, but not for the Jewish nation in general. And what an anachronism there is in Dr. Schiller-Szinessy's statement when he says that the MS. is written by a *Sephardic* (Spanish) hand, at a time when the Spanish Jews were still in utter ignorance of the Talmud, and much more of the rules of copying Biblical texts. In fact a *Sephardic* writing did not exist in 856, at least as far as can be judged from the absence of all Jewish writing in Spain at that time². How can a Bible be copied with the view of adding later the Massorah on the margins, at a time when such a thing as a Massorah in a compendious form scarcely existed?

¹ Dr. Steinschneider says in *H.B.* (note 1 on p. 31) that this expression seems to refer to the Jews on the other side of the Sambatyon, if it means anything.

² It is curious to mention that the Rev. W. H. Lowe, in his book *The Fragment of Talmud Babli Pesachim of the Ninth or Tenth Century in the University Library, Cambridge*, Cambridge, 1879, p. xv. note 2, says the following: 'The development of distinct schools of writing is, of course, a very gradual process, extending over centuries. We may, however, say that the Ashkenazic and Sephardic (Spanish and German) schools in writing *had begun* to become distinguished at least as early as 800 A.D.' We suppose that Mr. Lowe's statement is based on oral tradition, since we have not a line of Hebrew writing of the eighth century (except perhaps in the Fayyum Papyri; see Dr. Steinschneider's article in the *Ägyptische Zeitschrift*, viii (1879), p. 96, and *Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus des Erzherzog Rainer*, i-ii (Wien, 1886), p. 45), and very little genuine writing of the ninth century, and at all events, nothing in Sephardic or Ashkenazic forms. We believe that the fragment of which Mr. Lowe gives a photographic page was written in a Greek-speaking country; and from these forms the Ashkenazic is derived, whilst the Sephardic square characters are derived from those which we find in MSS. written in Syria. These Cambridge fragments are at the earliest of the eleventh century. Indeed, none of the seven arguments which Mr. Lowe gives (pp. xv and xvi) for an older date will stand a critical test. The script much resembles that of plate xc of the London Palaeographical Society (Oriental part), which is dated 1073. Dr. Schiller-Szinessy gives the following Kabbalistical description of it: 'The writing, which is between the ruled lines, is a firm French Ashkenazi. Consequently, the scribe must either have been himself a Jew from the North (East?) of France, or have been trained by one. Judging from the way it is dated, the volume was most probably written in Greece.' *Credo quia absurdum.*

On the other hand, there is no instance of a MS. waiting for centuries to be completed by the addition of vowel-points and accents, and the Massorah. He who believes that may also hear the grass growing.

Now let us say a word about the date. We find MSS. dated by the era of the Seleucidae, by that of the creation, by the era of the destruction of the two Temples, by that of the building of the *first* Temple, by that of the Exodus from Egypt¹, but never by the building of the *second* Temple, which is meant in the colophon of Jacob Levi. And why so? only in order to give more weight by the double era to his falsified date, and for that he is obliged to omit in both dates the thousands, viz. [4]616 A. M. and [1]208² of the building of the Temple. Or did Dr. Schiller-Szinessy think that the copyist means the building of the first Temple? If so, how could he make the two dates agree? Indeed it is astonishing that in a catalogue which is worked out so minutely (half of its contents being simply a repetition of what has already been said concerning the MSS.), that no attempt should be made to say a word about the agreement of the two dates, which could be done in two lines. We know that MSS. have falsified dates in order to make them older, and fetch a higher price. Such is the case with the MSS. at the Vatican, Nos. 4, 5, 6, 9, 29, 31, 38, and Urb. 2; Paris, No. 4, cod. 75; Copenhagen, No. 5; Kennicott, Nos. 186, 193, 195, 516, and 559 of the *Dissertatio generalis*. Jacob Levi did the same, and accordingly uses the strange word חקק, and for the rhyme of his colophon he takes the irregular words חריר and חרירה, and the Aramaic words צמח, רמשא, and נחרה. A peculiarity of his is also the word חתמתי, 'I have concluded,' for which is usually found the words סיימתי or נסמתי, and in Yemen MSS. נבעע.

¹ See the MS. of the Bodleian, No. 1452 in the new catalogue; the usual date in earlier MSS. written in the East is the era of the Seleucidae; later on with the addition of the era of the creation; sometimes we find the era of the destruction of the Temple, mostly in MSS. written by Greek Jews; in Western countries the era of the creation is predominant. We have chosen a MS. which gives all possible dates together.

² See above, p. 30.

סופר instead of הסופר does not speak for the copyist's grammar. Dr. Schiller-Szinessy speaks¹ of various readings in this MS. as 'a source of which, though important, but little notice has hitherto been taken in collating MSS.' Had he ever seen the Abbé's letter which could have informed him what these variations are? We suppose he had not, for he does not quote it in his catalogue, which he must have done in describing a MS., if he had known it, although he was not very fond of quoting. We were told at Cambridge that there are observations in MS. by Dr. Schiller-Szinessy relating to this MS., but the Librarian hesitated to communicate them to us, although they are the property of the Library. The emendation of חסתר (Zeph. ii. 3) into תמחר, not mentioned by Kennicott, is not of early origin, as Dr. Schiller-Szinessy thought², and is after all a poor emendation.

In order to enable those who are acquainted with the palaeography of the Hebrew square characters—although not 'born palaeographers'—to form an opinion respecting the age of this MS., we give two photographic facsimiles of it, viz. Gen. xxi. 19 to xxii. 8 and 2 Chron. xxxvi. 13 to the end, with the colophon which reads as follows:—

אני יעקב חלוי סופר
חתמתי זה הספר
ו' לחדש י"ב הוא אדר
באותיות וכתב הדר
שנת ה'תצ"ר"ה ליצירה
ח'ק'ק לבנין בית הבחירה
ו זכני ה' להנעת בו תדירה
ע רב ובוקר רמשא וצפורה
ק ול מבשר ישמע מהרה
ב קבץ עמנו דבעבר נהרה
ה שב הנור והעמרה
ל בית דוד התפארה
ו בית לוי לשיר חמרה
י שימו כהנים באפך קמורה

¹ *Catalogue, etc.*, p. 14 (§ 2).

² *Ibidem.*

We shall be prepared to retract our views concerning this MS. if one of Dr. Schiller-Szinessy's disciples or some one else will bring forward plausible arguments for the antiquity of it. Jacob Levi is not known as a copyist of any other MS.; perhaps he is the father of Nethanel the scribe, son of Jacob Levi, who copied at Narbonne, Shebat 5042=1281 or 1282, Maimonides' Mischnah Torah for Joseph, son of Abraham, son of David, a MS. preserved in the Talmud Torah school at Amsterdam¹.

For completeness sake we shall mention fragments of MS. scrolls in the possession of private gentlemen at Kertsch, in Russia, written in peculiar Hebrew characters. They contain fragments of Isaiah, the Minor Prophets, Proverbs, Lamentations, Esther, and Daniel, without vowel-points and accents. Are they genuine or not? Dr. Harkavy has discussed the matter fully, but has not come to any definite conclusion. He only says that the characters in the MS. seem to be old. Facsimiles of some of the fragments are to be found in Dr. Harkavy's essay², as well as in the Palaeographical Atlas to the Catalogue of the Hebrew MSS. in the Bodleian Library, No. 39.

¹ Nethanel says in the colophon כתיבה אחת וסדרה אחת קצב אחד לנחמן, which is not usually found in colophons.

² *Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg*, vii^e série, t. xxxii, No. 8 (1885).

[This essay has been in type since the 20th September, 1889, and was intended for *Studia Biblica* ii.]

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

To page 3, note 1. Professor Sayce kindly informs us that the characters of the Panammu inscription (of about 730 B. C.) are of the Phœnician type, like those of the Aramaic dockets on the contract-tablets of Nineveh (see p. 6, note 2). They have not yet developed into strictly Aramaic forms, and consequently have no bearing upon our argument.

To page 11, note 5. M. Joseph Halévy proposes the reading נבולמי instead of לבינמי, explaining it by the writing of Nablûs, i. e. in Samaritan characters. Nablûs, however, is expressed in the Talmudic literature by ניסולים (!ניסולים) and נסולין. See *La Géographie du Talmud*, p. 169, notes 1 and 2.



Collotype.

Oxford University Press.

I. CAIRO MS. I SAM. IV. 15—v. 8.







Collotype.

Oxford University Press.

II. CAIRO MS. COLOPHON.

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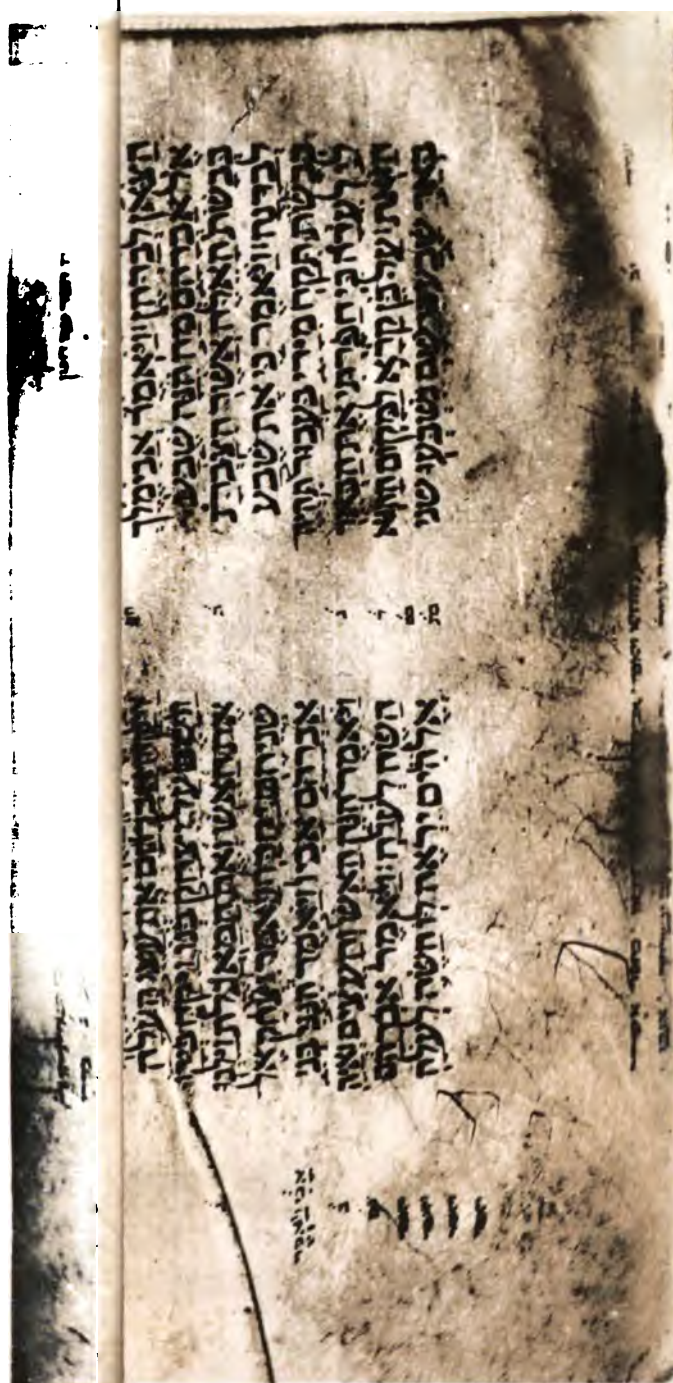
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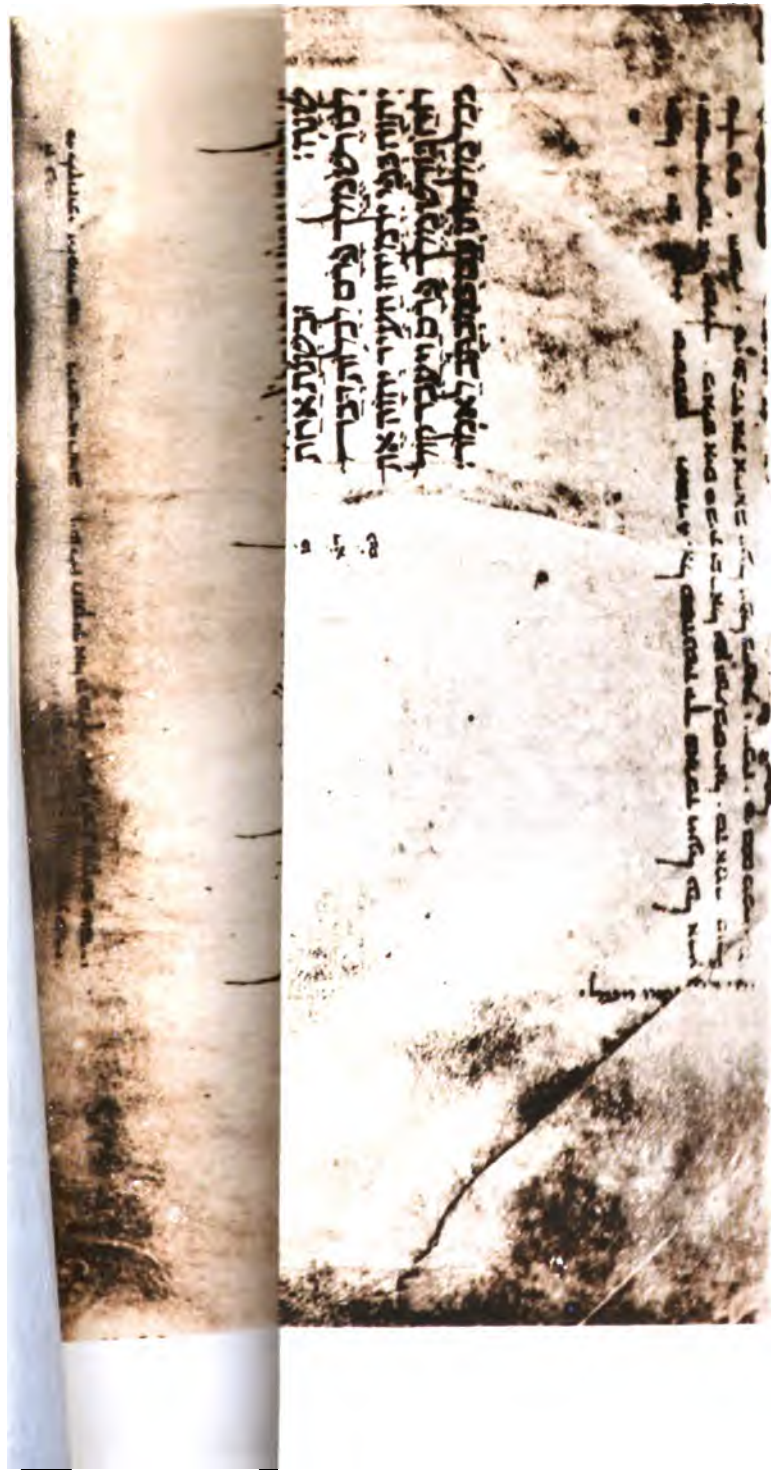
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II.

THE ARGUMENT OF ROMANS IX-XI¹.

[C. GORE.]

It would be impossible to deny that these chapters contain 'some things hard to be understood, which the ignorant and unstedfast,' and not only they, have 'wrested' to conclusions as disastrous, as they are alien to St. Paul's mind. If an exacter interpretation of St. Paul's language is to bring out sounder results, there are certain general considerations as to his method which must be kept in mind.

1. St. Paul, unlike St. John, is an argumentative writer. His thought is exhibited to us in process. It is moving from point to point. Each particular stage in the argument 'looks before and after:' it has its meaning only with reference to the whole. To isolate it is to rob it of its true force. Thus, St. Paul, less than almost any other author, admits of being used as a repertory of detached texts.

2. His method may be called abstract or ideal: that is to say, he makes abstraction of the particular aspect of a subject with which he is immediately dealing, and—apparently indifferent to being misunderstood—treats it in isolation; giving, perhaps, another aspect of the same subject in equal abstraction in a different place. He does not guard himself or correlate his different points of view like a modern writer. For instance, writing of 'the law,' he mostly treats it ideally, that is, according to its governing idea or characteristic function, not as a complex historical fact. Thus, when he comes to state the principle of faith, as opposed

¹ The substance of this paper was read before a Meeting at the house of the Rev. the Professor of Hebrew, on Dec. 6, 1886.

to the principle of the law (Rom. x. 6-8), he finds no difficulty in taking his illustration of faith out of the books of the law¹. The books of Moses are, in fact, *characterized* by the principle of law, but they *contain* other elements². And St. Paul deals with them in general simply according to their characteristic idea. Once again: he deals with the history of the development of sin, as if it represented the whole history of fallen man, in Romans i: and then, in Rom. ii. 14-16, he gives us a glimpse of another principle which had been at work all the time, viz. the rectifying action of the natural conscience.

3. St. Paul argues mostly 'ad hominem,' like Augustine. Thus, he is only understood rightly when we keep constantly before us a clear idea of the opponent's position which he is combating. This is a caution especially necessary in the chapters we are now to review. St. Paul in these chapters is popularly supposed to be justifying the ways of God to men, by asserting His absolute rights, as against any power on man's part to control his own destiny. 'It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that sheweth mercy.' 'Hath not the potter power over the clay?' Such a conception of God's absolute sovereignty annihilates human freedom and responsibility, and thus, in fact, St. Paul has constantly been regarded, by those within and those without the Church, as really denying these bases of moral action. This has resulted, practically, in a misuse of St. Paul by those who were prepared to be 'Calvinistic,' and an equally serious disuse of his teaching by those who were not. But in fact this popular supposition as to St. Paul's meaning, is an error due to his (ideal) opponent in this argument not having been kept steadily enough in view. The opponent whom St. Paul has in mind is a Jew, or one

¹ Deut. xxx. 11-14.

² 'Grace, already existing in the Jewish theocracy, was the fruitful germ deposited under the surface, which was one day to burst forth and become the peculiar character of the new covenant.' Godet *in loc.*

representing the Jewish case, who pleads that God had pledged Himself to the Jews as such: He had committed Himself to them as the chosen people: it was enough for them to say, 'We have Abraham to our father;' 'The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord are we.' Thus, any view of God's dealings which, like St. Paul's, involved the conclusion that a catholic Church and not the Jewish race constituted under present circumstances the elect body, on a basis of faith and not of the law, stood self-condemned. Now such a plea as the Jew is here supposed to urge, carries with it the supposition that God had tied His hands in choosing Israel. However Israel might behave, God was committed to it. As against such a position,—a position really destructive of all moral responsibility—St. Paul asserts the Divine freedom. He asserts that God never tied His hands by committing Himself to the material limits of a race, in such a way as that men could rest indolently on the covenant. Thus the whole point of his argument is to *emphasize* the sense of responsibility by making it plain that God's election is a challenge to faith, not a substitute for it.

Two points, then, must be kept in view in considering this argument more in detail.

(a) The 'election' St. Paul is here speaking of is not (primarily) the election of individuals to eternal salvation, but the election of a race or Church to bear God's Name in the world and be His people—the election of a chosen body to special conditions of knowledge and responsibility.

(b) The objector he has in view represents a Jewish plea that God had committed Himself to the race of Abraham simply and unconditionally.

Now let us consider the argument, the dialectical force of which may be best brought out by expressing it in dialogue form. Afterwards we will direct our attention to a few special points.

Chapter VIII has culminated in a psalm of triumph of the elect in Christ. At its conclusion St. Paul's thought

reverts to the miserable fact that his own people, the people of the old covenant, are, speaking generally, outside this elect body, rejectors of the Christ. He turns to deplore this miserable contrast between the glories of their vocation in the old covenant and their present reprobation¹. Then there presents itself to his mind the objection which could be urged on their behalf—which, no doubt, St. Paul had heard urged often enough; and this objection we may make more vivid by putting it into the mouth of a Jewish interlocutor.

Jew. But if your conclusion is the right one, the fact is God's promise has failed, for He pledged Himself to Israel².

St. Paul. No, not to Israel physically considered: not to all the sons of Abraham. There was from the first an element of inscrutable selectiveness in God's dealings within the race of Abraham. Ishmael was rejected, Isaac chosen: Esau was rejected and Jacob chosen, antecedently to all moral conduct, though both were of the same father and mother. Such selectiveness ought at least to have prevented the Jews from resting their claim simply on having 'Abraham to their father³.'

Jew. But then this arbitrary selectiveness is unfair⁴.

St. Paul. No. God always revealed Himself as retaining His liberty of choice, as refusing to tie Himself, as selecting the historic examples of His hardening judgment and His compassionate good will, so as to baffle all attempts on our part to create His vocations by our own efforts, or anticipate the persons whom He will use for His purposes of mercy or of judgment⁵.

Jew. Then, at any rate, if God's arbitrary selectiveness is a fact, He must choose or exclude whom He pleases, but at least He cannot complain of us. The choice is not ours⁶.

St. Paul. How foolish is this critical, complaining attitude towards God! The first condition of understanding God's method is to recognize His sovereignty. Humanity lies under

¹ vv. 1-5.

² v. 6.

³ vv. 6-13.

⁴ v. 14.

⁵ vv. 15-18.

⁶ v. 19.

His hand, as clay under the hand of the potter. His is the choice what sort of vessels He needs—one for a higher use, another for a lower¹. Who shall complain if vessels which, whatever high uses they were destined for, are in fact only fit to be thrown away, are at last, after fullest, patientest trial, rejected, and others taken in their place which, though hitherto kept in the background, had been fashioned before for glorious ends? Your own prophets constantly warned you that God's choice would fall on those who were 'not His people,' and that the true Israel was to be looked for only in 'the remnant².'

What is the result, then? That the nation which had 'righteousness' for its end and aim, failed of its goal, while Gentiles, whose national life involved no such quest, have succeeded in obtaining what they were not expecting. And why? Because the 'righteous nation' intent on external conformity to an outward law, on which they prided themselves, failed in faith—that is, in correspondence to the purpose of God. Thus the Christ, who should have been the goal of all their effort, became only the occasion of their rejection³.

But this rejection is not final. It still leaves room for prayer. Israel has mistaken the method of serving God. They took pride in their law, and offered to God the righteousness of their own choice, while all the time they were quite out of touch with God's fuller purposes and blind to the righteousness which He was asking for. The righteousness of the law is conformity, the righteousness which God wants is faith—the simple loyalty to the plain message of God manifest in the heart of man⁴, which resolves itself now into the open profession of the Lordship of Jesus and the cordial belief in His Resurrection. This faith, which finds its object in

¹ For the meaning of 'a vessel to dishonour,' cf. 2 Tim. ii. 20, 1 Cor. xii. 23-25. It is a vessel adapted to mean uses, and is quite distinct from 'a vessel of wrath,' i. e. one which will not serve its end, and is only 'fit to be destroyed.'

² vv. 20-29.

³ vv. 30-33.

⁴ Deut. xxx. 11-14.

Christ, is open to all: the promises are free to all: the faculty of believing belongs to all, Jew and Greek alike, when once the blessed message has been conveyed to them. This necessitates nothing more than an authoritative ambassador for Christ—the apostolate to the nations, which is our glory ¹.

Jew. But Israel should have had their chance—should have known their danger ².

St. Paul. They did hear: they did know it. But they would not heed. The result is as the prophet anticipated. The out-cast world, the ‘sinners of the Gentiles,’ have in the faith of Christ taken the place of the chosen people ³.

Jew. Well, then, Israel is rejected, and there is an end of it ⁴.

St. Paul. God forbid. There is a remnant, a faithful Israel, as in Elijah’s time, larger perhaps than you suppose, still among the elect of God’s love, by His free gift ⁵. If the rest have fallen into a blindness which is God’s judgment on them, according to the warnings of prophet and the imprecations of psalmist, yet this judgment is not final or irreversible. The substitution of the Gentiles for the ancient people is meant to stimulate them by jealousy to accept God’s love ⁶.

On the one hand, as the present election of the Gentiles is meant to minister to the salvation of the Jews, so in itself and for them it is no ground of boasting, but an appeal to faith. God’s vocation can only fulfil itself, in their case as in that of the Jews, through faith, through moral correspondence. On the other hand, the rejection of Israel only waits for their faith in order to be reversed ⁷.

The end to which God works through the vicissitudes of His elections and His judgments is that all should be saved. The rejection of the Jews ministers to the salvation of the Gentiles, and the salvation of the Gentiles to the resuscitation of the Jews. God still sees in the ancient people the stamp of an imperishable vocation. Their rejection of God, like the old

¹ x. 1-15.

² See vv. 18, 19.

³ vv. 16-21.

⁴ xi. 1.

⁵ vv. 1-6.

⁶ vv. 7-12.

⁷ vv. 13-24.

rejection of Him by the Gentiles in the days of their disobedience, is only a stage in the process which has for its aim that all should find mercy. Let us come together in a fresh access of adoration, as we contemplate together the unsearchable ways of God: let us recognize our utter incapacity to suggest or control His counsels.

* * * * *

This attempt to render St. Paul's argument is not by any means of verbal exactness, but it is hoped that it is a sufficient clue to the course of the thoughts. It will now be apparent that all the way through the argument St. Paul is thinking of 'election' as God's choice of men in bodies to peculiar conditions of privilege and responsibility. The Jews were, in Athanasius' language, 'the sacred school of the knowledge of God and of the spiritual life to all nations.' When they converted the trust committed to them into an occasion for boasting and an irresponsible prerogative right to God's favour, so that they became an obstacle in God's way, instead of an instrument to His hands, they were rejected, and their place was taken by the catholic Church, but their rejection was only a new stage in the process of God's education, in order to reduce them to that state of humility in which again, in company with 'their sisters Sodom and Samaria'¹ they might become grateful recipients of the Divine compassion on a basis of faith. The end of St. Paul's argument thus shows unmistakeably what sort of election is in his mind. With this in view we shall follow more easily its earlier stages.

Thus in chapter ix he is asserting the freedom of God to choose His instruments as against any claim on man's part, either (1) to create or dictate his own vocation; or (2) to retain it when he fails to correspond with its conditions.

(1) Man cannot create or dictate his own vocation. Viewed externally, one class or nation has an infinitely higher and wider sphere of opportunity than another. Viewed internally,

¹ Ez. xvi. 44-63.

as a matter of individual relation to God, there is doubtless no respect of persons. Each man is dealt with equally in view of his opportunities. There are first in privilege who shall be last in acceptance, and last in privilege who shall be first in acceptance. But viewed externally, as a matter of external privilege, one class is dealt with differently from another. One is high, another is low. And the selection of men for the various degrees of privilege, for the various parts they play in the drama of the world, lies absolutely in the inscrutable choice of God.

(2) Thus man's responsibility does not lie in the sphere of determining his duties and responsibilities, but in *corresponding to them*. As he cannot claim to create a vocation, so he cannot claim to retain it if he fails to correspond with it. Man's whole duty is summed up in the correspondence of faith with the vocation of God, in whatever sphere the Divine Wisdom assign to him.

Now to refer to certain details:

ix. 11-17. The absolute election of Jacob,—the 'loving' of Jacob and the 'hating' of Esau,—has reference simply to the election of one to higher privileges as head of the chosen race, than the other. It has nothing to do with their eternal salvation. In the original, to which St. Paul is referring¹, Esau is simply a synonym for Edom.

ix. 17. 'It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth,' i. e. we cannot create or produce our vocations. The initiative lies far behind us in the Divine choice. (What we can do is to correspond.)

ix. 17. The 'raising up' of Pharaoh is his introduction on the stage of history, cp. Is. xli. 2 'who hath *raised up* one from the east' (ἐξήγειρεν, cf. v. 25 ἐγὼ δὲ ἤγειρα τὸν ἀπὸ βορρᾶ). The reason why Pharaoh is chosen as an example of judicial hardening lies in the Divine will, and we cannot determine it. (But we have every reason to know that it is disobedience alone which is the condition of hardening. No man is

¹ Mal. i. 2, 4.

created to be hardened, though his secret disobedience may lead to his being made a public example of God's judgment.)

ix. 20. The metaphor of the clay and the potter does suggest God's absolute right to create men in view of His purposes for higher or lower vocations, and also His right to reject those who show themselves unfit for the vocations assigned to them. The unfitness, however, lies in the fact that man offers to God a moral material which will not mould to His purposes. Our vocation, our capacity, is created of God, but our malleability to His purposes is of our faith. There is no contradiction between the use of the metaphor here and in 2 Tim. ii. 20, 21. Cf. (for its original use) Jer. xviii. 6.

ix. 30. All the argument from this point onward goes to emphasize that the cause of Israel's rejection was lack of faith, failure of correspondence. The argument taken together leaves us 'without excuse' in maintaining either a partiality in God's eternal regard of men¹, or an arbitrariness in His rejection of men from the temporal or partial 'elections' by which He gradually works out His universal purpose².

¹ See xi. 32.

² See xi. 20.

III.

THE MATERIALS FOR THE CRITICISM OF
THE PESHITTO NEW TESTAMENT, WITH
SPECIMENS OF THE SYRIAC MASSORAH.

[G. H. Gwilliam.]

'In orientalium ecclesiarum laudibus,' says J. Gildemeister¹, 'ponenda est assidua ac varia quam per medium aevum de librorum biblicorum verbis et forma adhibuerunt cura, eadem aetate qua per occidentem critica studia prorsus iacebant.' But long before the days of Bar-Hebraeus, or even of the Syriac Massoretes, the science of preserving accurate texts of the Scriptures had reached a high standard of perfection. Many beautiful specimens from the Syrian libraries have survived to modern times; descriptions of these may be read in various Catalogues; the witness they bear to the Canon of the Syriac Church has been noted; references may occasionally be found to their readings in the critical editions of the Greek Testament; but hitherto no systematic and extensive use has been made of them towards the solution of problems connected with the text of the Syriac Version of the Holy Scriptures, its origin, and its history. And yet it is freely admitted that the *Syriac* is an important element in our *Apparatus Criticus*.

The principles which will be laid down in the following pages apply as much to the case of the Old Testament as they do to that of the New. It will, however, be best to treat the two cases separately, for the two Testaments in the Peshitto² Version possibly stand in somewhat different relations to the

¹ *De Evang. in Arab. & Simp. Syr. transs. Comment. Academica*, 1865.

² This name does not occur in the titles or colophons of our old codices. By the earlier scholars it was written Peshito, and that form is adopted by

Hebrew and Greek originals. There is undoubtedly a difference in the intervals of time by which the Peshitto Old Testament is separated from the Hebrew, and the New from the Greek: there were possibly many differences in the circumstances which led to the composition of each. It will be generally admitted that most, at all events, of the books which were subsequently included in the Peshitto New Testament Canon, were translated at an early date directly from the Greek; it is not so obvious that the Peshitto Old Testament was derived immediately from the Hebrew, without the intervention of a Targum or some ancient Version¹; and certainly (unless we accept the traditional account of its ante-Christian origin) the Peshitto Old Testament can hardly be called an early witness to the original Hebrew text.

The arguments which were long ago stated and have been often repeated in proof of the early date of the Syriac New Testament, have still as much, and perhaps as little, force as they had in the times of Mill and of Michaelis². Demonstration of the existence of the Peshitto at a period long anterior to Ephraim and Aphraates cannot indeed be given; but the reasons alleged by the late Bishop of Durham³ for accepting the antiquity of the Egyptian Versions apply in

Dr. Payne Smith in the *Thesaurus*, as though from ܡܡܢܐ, which seems to have been used as a kind of proper name. Thus in a *Gloss* on Matt. vi. 24, quoted by Wiseman, *Horae Syriacae*, p. 223, from the Vatican Massoretic codex, we have, ܡܡܢܐ ܕܡܡܢܐ ܕܡܡܢܐ ܕܡܡܢܐ ܕܡܡܢܐ—i.e. according to the Peshito (sic) *Momuno*, but according to the Greek *Mamunus*—where ܡܡܢܐ in the masculine is used in apposition to ܡܡܢܐ (mas.) *Græcus*. But if ܡܡܢܐ, *verrio*, be expressed or implied, then the form will be ܡܡܢܐ; and this we have expressed by Peshitto, in preference to Pēshittā, and the like, as more convenient for ordinary use.

¹ See J. A. Dathe's reply to S. R. Semler in *Psalterium Syriacum*, 1768, Praef., p. xi seq., and for more recent views Tregelles' article in *Bible Dict., Encycl. Brit.* (W. R. Smith) xi. 600-1, 9th ed.

² *Nov. Test. Gr.*, ed. Küster, *Proleg.* 1237-40; *Introduction*, vol. II. c. vii. §§ 6-8, ed. Marsh, 1802.

³ In Scrivener's *Introduction*, pp. 371-3, ed. 1883. In comparing the Egyptian, the Latin, and the Syriac Versions (see Additional Note by W. S. in *Studia Biblica*, ii. p. 272), account should be taken of the character of

principle to the Syriac also. The doubts felt by certain critics are not about the existence of a Syriac vernacular before the days of Ephraim, but about the form of that ancient text. On this we shall have more to say as we proceed. Nor would any one now seriously contend for what some once supposed, that the Syriac was otherwise derived than directly from the Greek archetype¹.

One hundred years ago Adler wrote as follows:—‘Optandum esset ut tum hic [i.e. the *Vatican Tetraevangelium*] tum alii versionis Syriacae codices antiqui diligentius conferrentur, et novus deinde accuratiorque ederetur contextus Syriacus².’ This ‘contextus Syriacus’ is practically the same as that which Widmanstadt first printed³, although many variants were collected by Schaaf⁴. Forty years ago Wichelhaus⁵ laid down the principles which should be adopted in a revision of the Peshitto; but he was acquainted with only a tithe of the materials which are now available. Indeed these are so numerous that a description of all the Peshitto New Testament MSS. which are preserved in English and foreign libraries would far exceed the limits of this essay.

the available texts, and the condition of the MSS., as well as of the origin and literary history of each version. If the number and the antiquity of the MSS. of the *Peshitto*, and the certainty of the text, be compared with the diplomatic evidence for the *Egyptian*, the age of the MSS., the state of the text, as shown in the admirable catalogue and selection of readings in *Nov. Test. Oxon.* 1889, Append. III (A. C. Headlam), pp. 182–90, the result will be found to be striking and suggestive. The condition of the *Old Latin* is well known to scholars. The critical value of the ancient versions is not in the nineteenth century (as it might once have been) uniform, when each is ‘seen in connexion with a wider range of phenomena.’

¹ E.g. Bengel thought the Syriac and the Coptic were influenced by the Latin. *Michaelis, op. cit.*, ii. p. 550.

² *Versiones Syriacae*, p. 10.

³ *Studia Biblica*, 1885, p. 151.

⁴ *Nov. Test. Syr.*, Leusden et Schaaf, 1708, p. 649 sqq. Many of those which he collected from editions are of little value. The readings quoted from Raphaeleng (who used Cod. Col., cf. p. 88, n. 3), Gutbir and Tremellius are of Jacobite type. The earlier pages of the Syriac, Mt. i. 1—Lk. xviii. 26 are pointed in Chaldean fashion, as Schaaf explains in his *Preface*.

⁵ *De Nov. Test. Vers. Syr. Antiqua*, 1850, pp. 230–5.

I.

A. Of first rank among the authorities for settling the text of the Peshitto New Testament are old dated copies of the various books, according to the Syriac Canon. Some of the most interesting of these MSS. are the following:—

i. An *Apostolus*. This MS. contains all the Epistles of St. Paul, in the familiar order, including the *Hebrews*, and is one of the famous collection from the Nitrian desert, with which the British Museum was enriched more than forty years ago. A note *a prima manu* states that it was written at Urhoi¹ in Mesopotamia, in the year 845—that is, of the 'Seleucid' or 'Greek' era; in our era, 534. It is therefore one of the earliest of dated Biblical MSS.² The name of the convent for which it was written seems to have been purposely effaced, and at a later period it was in the hands of a Nestorian, who added many vowel marks and other signs. Another, a Jacobite no doubt, has affixed a few of the Greek vowels used by the Western Syrians. Thus this book shared the fate of many other Syriac MSS., and passed from one sect to another by purchase—possibly by plunder. But such exchanges are evidence that either sect regarded the other as possessing a vernacular Bible, which was substantially the

¹ ܐܘܪܗܐ, the usual name in Syriac for *Edessa*—see *Theo. Syr.*, col. 93; *Euphrates Expedition* (W. F. Ainsworth, 1888), i. p. 197 f.

² In the British Museum there are also *Codd. Add.* 14,425 (*Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, Deuteronomy*, in the Peshitto), A.D. 464, and *Add.* 14,445 (*Daniel*, in the Peshitto), A.D. 532, besides still earlier dated secular MSS., such as the famous *Add.* 12,150—see *Catalogue*, vol. ii. p. 631.

Michaelis feared that the dates of Syr. MSS. are unreliable, as they may have been copied, along with the text, by later scribes. But since his time (cf. *Introduction*, ed. Marsh, 1802, ii. part i. pp. 21, 22) the materials for determining the age of Syriac documents have been largely augmented. The style changed from century to century, and it may be affirmed that an inconsistent date would not impose on experts in Syriac palaeography. Adler (who himself had doubts about the age of the Florentine Tetraevangelium) has supplied in his facsimiles good evidence of the changes in Syriac writing. Of deliberate imitation in later centuries there do not seem to be many well-authenticated instances. In the case of *Uod. Barber. Massoreticus*, Wiseman (*Horae Syr.*, p. 198) contends that the date in the colophon (A. G. 1404 = A. D. 1093) is doubtful, because the language lacks the marks of genuineness.



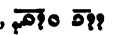


same as his own, and any emendations which were made were almost invariably confined to those differences of pronunciation which distinguish the Eastern, or Nestorian Syriac, from that of the West¹.


[*Catalogue of Syriac MSS. in British Museum*, Pt. i. p. 86, *Cod. Add.* 14,479.]

ii. This MS. contains only *SS. Luke and John*². It was written, in an Edessene hand, in the year 840, i. e. A. D. 530, the last word of the date being illegible. It may therefore be older than the last MS. by a year or two. *St. Luke* i. 1 begins on the *verso*, while *St. John* is finished on the *recto*, leaving blank pages to form the outsides of the book. The colophon is:—*Here endeth the writing in this book, the two Evangelists, Luke, John.*

[*Brit. Mus. Cod. Add.* 14,459, foll. 67–169; see *Catalogue*, pp. 67–8; *Studia Biblica*, Oxford, 1885, No. VIII, p. 155.]

iii. A *Tetraevangelium*, in the Vatican Library. Adler in *Versiones Syriacae* gives the colophon (with a specimen facsimile) as follows:—‘*Absolutus est liber mense Thamuz (Julio) anno 859 (Christi 548) in urbe Mesopotamiae Edessa. Exaravit autem hunc codicem suis sumptibus et gratia Dei,*

¹ This very ancient authority confirms the Peshitto rendering in Rom. ix. 5—*Christus secundum carnem, qui est Deus supra omnes*—only reading  for , which does not affect the sense. In 1 Cor. v. 8 it has the remarkable variation from all Greek copies,  = sed in fermento puritatis, etc. This Schaaf notices, but adopts  = in asymo. In 1 Tim. iii. 16 it confirms the well-known reading of the Peshitto, omitting *et* and proceeding , which gives either *et* or *in*. In Heb. ii. 9 it has the *ipse enim Deus per gratiam suam*.

² It is not, however, the latter half of a *Tetraevangelium*, as the colophon quoted in the text shows; and thus perhaps, by way of distinction, arose the not infrequent use of the term *Tetraevangelium* (, vid. *Theo. Syr.*, col. 1457) when the four Evangelists were collected into one volume. Some Greek Evangelia contain only three, or even two books—e. g. Evan. 300 *Mt*, *Mk*, *Lk*, Evan. 304 and 146 *Mt*, *Mk*, Evan. 306 *Mt*, *Jh*, Evan. 145 *Lk*, *Jh*, Evan. 143 *Mt*, *Lk*.

Did the scribe of Cureton's codex only intend to write *Matthew*, *Mark*, *John*, and afterwards add *Luke*, time and vellum allowing a larger work? The order seems to be unique—cf. *Nov. Test. Tisch. Proleg.* 137–8.

quae ipsi adfuit, Frater Mar Eusebius Aramaeus pro sancto coenobio Thomae diebus coenarchiae Sergii, rel.'¹

[S. E. Assemani, *Bib. Vat. Cat.*, P. i. t. 2, p. 27 seq.; *Studia Biblica*, 1890, No. VI, p. 250, and frontispiece.]

iv. A *Tetraevangelium* in the Laurentian Library, Florence, dated A. GE. 897—i. e. A. D. 586. In a former paper I have quoted the opinion of Dr. Ceriani, that there are no grounds for thinking, as did Adler, that the colophon, which gives the date, is not by the first hand.

[Assemani, *Cat. Biblioth. Mediceae*; *Studia Biblica*, 1890, p. 251; Adler, *op. cit.*, pp. 11, 12.]

v. The above-named codices are products of the Monophysite branch of the Syriac Church: our next is a Nestorian codex, containing the four Gospels, written in what is known as *Nestorian Estrangela*, at Tel-Dinawar (where was a Nestorian college), in the district of Naarda¹, an episcopal city on the Euphrates, west of Bagdad, in the year A. D. 600.

[*Cat. Syr. MSS. in Brit. Mus.*, Pt. i. pp. 52, 53; *Thesaurus Syriacus* (P. Smith), col. 490; Wiltzsch, *Handbook of the Geography and Statistics of the Church* (tr. by J. Leitch) vol. i. p. 487, for the Nestorian see of Naarda; p. 498, for the Jacobite.]

vi. Another Nestorian MS. of the Gospels, written at Nisibis in A. D. 615, when Mar Mattai was head of the Nestorian college which had succeeded the earlier and now extinct school at Edessa.

[*Brit. Mus. Cat.*, pp. 53, 54; see also Etheridge's *Syrian Churches*, p. 43; Wichelhaus, *op. cit.*, p. 128 seq.]

vii. The *Cod. Guelpherbytanus*, which became the property of the Duke of Brunswick in 1662, and was deposited in the library at Wolfenbüttel, where, a century afterwards, it was

¹ Also called Nearda, Nehardea, and Nahardeir (Cellarii, *Notitiae Orbis Antiqui*, ii. 439; Vaux in *Dict. of Greek and Roman Geography*, s. v.; Ainsworth, *op. cit.*, i. ch. 21, and App. 16), and identified with Beth Nuhadra, but wrongly, according to Wright in *Cat. Syr. MSS. Brit. Mus.* i. 53 n. At Nehardea (נהרדעא) was an ancient Jewish colony and a famous school of Hebrew critics; see Dr. A. Neubauer's *La Géographie du Talmud*, p. 350, and the same writer's paper in this volume, p. 24.

examined by P. J. Bruns. It was written in the convent of Beth Chela¹, near Damascus, in the time of John, the Monophysite Patriarch, and finished on 24th Dec., A.D. 634.

[*Annales Literarii*, 1782, vol. ii; *Repert. für Biblische u. Morgenländische Litt.* xv, xvi, 1784-5; *Cat. Codd. Orientt. Bib. Dres. et Guelph.* (Fleischer et Ebert) pp. 76, 77; *Hist. Bib. Guelph.* (Burchard) ii. 3, pp. 236-7.]

viii. The *Cod. Add.* 14,448, a Nestorian MS., containing the whole of the New Testament as received in the ancient Syriac Church². The colophon is not quite distinct, but Dr. Wright interpreted the date as 'the year one thousand and twelve, in the well-known era of the Greeks, which is of the Arabs eighty;' and this would give A.D. 699-700.

[*Brit. Mus. Cat.*, Pt. i. pp. 41, 42.]

ix. The *Nestorian New Testament*, *Cod. Add.* 7157, dated A.D. 768.

[*Cat. MSS. Orient. Mus. Brit.*, 1838, P. I; *Studia Biblica*, 1890, p. 252.]

B. The age of each of the foregoing MSS. is known, and, in the case of most, the origin and history also: some of those which follow are certainly older³, although the particular decade in which they were written cannot be determined.

x. *Cod. Additionalis* 14,459, foll. 1-66, containing SS. Matt. and Mark, was probably written about A.D. 450.

[*Studia Biblica*, 1885, No. VIII.]

¹ See *Thes. Syr.* (quoting Assemani), col. 485, where it is spelled ܡܬܠܟܐ ܕܡܬܠܐ. George, Abbot of Beth Chela, was one of the many who signed the *Reply of the Abbots of Arabia to the Orthodox Bishops*, extant in *Add.* 14,602, a MS. not much, if at all, younger than *Cod. Guelph.* Cf. *Adler*, p. 14, nn. 15, 16.

² The twenty-two books of the Syriac Canon were divided into three sets: A. The Holy Gospels; B. The Acts, to which were appended the three Epistles, 1 Peter, James, 1 John; C. The fourteen Epistles of St. Paul, often called ܐܡܬܘܠܐܝܬܐ = Apostolus. In A and C the usual order prevails. In the Nestorian Massorah the sets are arranged as above, but in the Jacobite we find B, C, A. In *Add.* 14,470 the order is A, C, B.

On the *Antilegomena* see *Transactions of Royal Irish Academy* (J. Gwynn), vol. xxvii, 1886.

³ Cf. p. 50, n. 2, above. The many documents of which the age is indisputable afford criteria for judging of others.

xi. *Cod. Add.* 17,117, is apparently about as old, and contains the same Gospels.

The next four may also be of the fifth century, but possibly belong to the early part of the sixth.

xii. *Cod. Add.* 14,470: a MS. of singular interest, because it contains the whole of the Peshitto New Testament. There are others of later date which include as much; this, from its antiquity, is perhaps unique. It is one of our chief authorities for the pericope which will be exhibited with annotations on a later page. The following readings are also worthy of note:—in Acts xx. 28 it has the ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ = Ecclesiam Christi; in Rom. ix. 5, 1 Cor. v. 8, and 1 Tim. iii. 16, it supports the readings of *Add.* 14,479; in Heb. ii. 9 the words ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ = [ipse] enim Deus per gratiam suam pro are written over an erasure.

xiii. *Cod. Add.* 14,453: a Tetraevangelium.

xiv. *Cod. Add.* 14,476: an Apostolus—i.e. the Fourteen Epistles of St. Paul.

xv. *Cod. Add.* 14,480: another Apostolus.

[For x—xv see respective descriptions in *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, 1870, Pt. i. pp. 40–85.]

xvi. *Cod. Crawfordianus I.* This, with *Crawf. II*¹, were purchased by the late Earl of Crawford and Balcarres in London, but it is not now known whence, and under what

¹ *Cod. Crawf. II* (No. 12), while of comparatively little value towards the settlement of the text of the Peshitto, is, from another point of view, of peculiar interest, because it contains the *whole New Testament* in Syriac—not only the books recognized in the Canon of the Peshitto, but also the Antilegomena. After a first examination, I was inclined to assign it to the same period as *Add.* 12,139, which was written at Antioch, A. D. 1000. An earlier date was suggested by Dr. Neubauer, M. Duval, and Professor Guidi; the two latter have only seen a photograph of the MS. Subsequently it was very carefully compared with several codices in the British Museum, of which the dates are known, by Dr. Gwynn, who also took the opinion of experts on the staff of the Museum. He is convinced that it is of the twelfth century, and is about to publish in full the version of the Apocalypse contained in it, which is distinct from the one usually printed in Syriac New Testaments. More about this MS. will be found in *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxviii. A selection of its readings in the four Minor Catholic Epistles has been published by Dr. Gwynn in *Hermathena* for 1890.

circumstances, they were brought thither. *Crawf. I* is without any indication of date or locality, but there can be no doubt that it is of the sixth century. It is a very handsome Tetraevangelium, and in excellent preservation. [*Studia Biblica*, 1890, p. 251.]

It would be easy to double or treble the above list by adding other MSS. which, if somewhat younger and less precious, are yet not inferior to those on which the text of many ancient authors now depends. The British Museum contains more than eighty copies of parts of the Peshitto New Testament, besides MSS. of the Old Testament and Psalters. In the Bodleian are the Jacobite *Cod. Dawkinsianus III*, which is assigned to the ninth century, but may well be older¹, and the Nestorian *Dawk. XXVII*, which appears to be of the tenth century. Berlin has been enriched with a collection², which yet awaits the fuller description promised by Professor Sachau. It is almost certain that the convents of the East contain many treasures besides those which they have already yielded to the scholars of the West; but it is most improbable that any research will discover copies of greater antiquity than the oldest of those with which we are already acquainted.

C. In connection with MSS. account should also be taken of the editions of the Peshitto published by the American Bible Society. The materials were collected by Dr. Justin Perkins, during his residence as a missionary amongst the (so called) Nestorian Christians of Persia³. The first edition was printed at Urumiah, Nestorian Estrangela was used, and the Nestorian vowel system. Some of the readings which were adopted are now confirmed not only, as might be expected, by the Nestorian Massorah, which we are about to describe, but also by our early Jacobite MSS. of which Perkins could have known nothing. The American

¹ *Studia Biblica*, 1890, p. 251; for both MSS., *Cat. Cod. Bod.* (R. P. Smith) *pars VI*.

² *Kurzes Verzeichniss der Sachau'schen Sammlung syrischer Handschriften*, von E. Sachau, 1885.

³ See *Eight Years in Persia*, J. Perkins, 1843, and note on next page.

editors had access to ancient and valuable Nestorian evidence, and their work may occupy in our *apparatus criticus* the place of a good Nestorian codex. In fact, it really represents the testimony of many codices of that class¹.

II.

What has been called² the *Karkaphensian Syriac* is neither a distinct Version, as the *Jerusalem*, nor a revision of the Peshitto as the *Philoxenian* and its *Heracleian* modification, nor a codex, like the *Curetonian*, with remarkable affinities to the Peshitto, and at the same time many divergences from it; but is a kind of *Massorah*—the attempt to preserve the best traditions

¹ At the request of the Rev. E. W. Gilman, Corresponding Secretary of the American Bible Society, Dr. Isaac H. Hall has kindly noted some facts connected with the publication of the Syriac Bibles of that Society. From his communication I extract the following:—‘It is impossible now to tell just what MSS. were used in constructing the text of the Ancient Syriac New Testament of the American Bible Society. After having (through the kindness of Rev. H. M. Perkins, son of the late Rev. Justin Perkins, D.D.) looked through a number of sources not in print, I am fully of the opinion that no more information can be had with exactness than is conveyed in Dr. Perkins’ *Eight Years in Persia*. . . . It is absolutely certain that [the Editors] made the MSS. they found in the region the controlling element in settling the text. Of these there were many as old as the twelfth century—scarcely any younger; and here and there one very much older. One was reported to be 1500 years old, which was used, but could not be borrowed. . . . One of [Dr. Perkins’ MSS.], that now in Boston, is of the twelfth century, but was obtained, I believe, by Dr. Asahel Grant. It is in Estrangela, like all the old Nestorian MSS., and the Nestorian vowels in it are by a later hand. . . . Dr. Perkins yielded as much to native custom as purity permitted, yet with an eye to progress, as a comparison of the Psalter of 1841 with the New Testament five years or so later will show. . . . It is easy to account for Dr. Perkins’ silence as to the particular sources of his text, as also with respect to its peculiarities. It would not have done, at that time, for a man to have given any public prominence to text critical matters. . . . These remarks apply to the whole Oromiah Bible in Ancient Syriac, though the Old Testament was not printed till some years after the New. . . . The New York New Testament of 1874 was intended to be a reprint of the Ancient Syriac of that Oromiah New Testament [in Ancient and Modern Syriac, 1846], changing only in case of misprints. 21 Jan., 1888.’

² With Dr. Scrivener’s description (3 ed., pp. 333–4) should be read Wright’s remarks in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. 22, ed. 1887, p. 826 and n. Adler (*op. cit.*, p. 33) suspected the truth forty years before the researches of Wiseman—*haec Carcufensis nobis non versio diversa, sed codex quidam vulgatae versionis fuisse videtur*.

of the orthography and pronunciation of the more important or difficult words of the Syriac vernacular Bible. Some variations of reading are noticed by the compilers, and the text which they have transcribed may be regarded as that which obtained their highest approbation; but none of the MSS. which have survived with the records of their labours contain complete transcripts of the sacred books. The two specimens appended to this paper will show what may be gained by a study of the MSS. produced by the Syriac Massoretes. These MSS. are evidence for the Canon of Holy Scripture which was recognized in the Syriac schools¹, and for the type of text which was prevalent; but the usefulness of these works is rather for the philologist and grammarian than for the textual critic.

The Syriac Massoretic MSS. are these:—

i. *Cod. Add.* 12,138. It was written, according to a note appended apparently by the original scribe, at Harran, in the convent of St. Gabriel, also known as that of the Confessors, in the year 1210, i.e. A.D. 899. It is a Nestorian work, in the handwriting of, and with the vowel points and accents employed by, Nestorian scribes, and includes the Old and New Testaments.

[*Cat. Syr. MSS. Brit. Mus.*, Pt. i. pp. 101–108. Wiltzsch, *op. cit.*, i. pp. 241, 497, for the Jacobite see of Harran; p. 494, for the Nestorian; cf. Ainsworth's *Expedition*, i. 204–5.]

¹ For the New Testament the Massorah confirms the limitations of the Peshitto Canon. For the Old Testament the evidence is less satisfactory. The Canon almost coincides with that of the Hebrew Massoretes, but includes some of the Apocrypha, and in additions and omissions there are differences between the Nestorian and the Jacobite Massorahs: compare contents of (1) *Add.* 12,138, with (2) those of *Add.* 12,178, with which *Codd. Vat.* and *Barber.* nearly agree, as described by Wright (*B. M. Cat.*) and by Wiseman, who justly remarks, 'Omittuntur varii libri [Canonici et Deuterocanonici] fortasse quia voces nullae in ipsis occurrunt quae illustratione egeant' (*op. cit.*, p. 217). *Chronicles*, *Ezra*, and *Nehemiah* seem to have been neglected by both schools, but, as Wiseman says, 'omnes certe sunt in Canone,' and for the first we have *Add.* 17,104, which contains 1, 2 Chron. only, in a sixth century hand, a few leaves being lost.

For the Syriac *Apocrypha* see *Libri Vet. Test. Apoc.* (P. de Lagarde), edited from Walton with Brit. Mus. MSS.

ii. The *Cod. Vaticanus* 152. This is the MS. which was so fully described by Wiseman in his *Horae Syriacae*, p. 151 f. An epigraph states that it was written in the monastery of Mar Aaron, in Mount Shigara¹, in the year 1291, i.e. A.D. 980. The text is furnished with the Greek vowels employed by the Jacobite scribes, and the work represents the Western Syriac Massorah, as *Add.* 12,138 the Eastern.

iii. *Add.* 12,178. A Jacobite work, in all respects resembling the Vatican Massoretic codex. It includes the Old and New Testaments in the Peshitto, with the New Testament in the Heracleian, and is of the ninth or tenth century.

[*Cat. Brit. Mus.*, Pt. i. pp. 108-111.]

iv. The *Cod. Barberinus* is another and similar work of the same school. It was described by Bianchini in *Evangeliarium Quadruplex*, 1748, and afterwards more fully and accurately by Wiseman in *op. cit.*, pp. 194-202. An epigraph states that the book belonged to the priest *Daniel*, of *Beth-Sachre*², who was also its scribe. It is somewhat doubtful whether the date is 1400 = A.D. 1089, or 1404 = A.D. 1093. Wiseman, as we have seen, (p. 50, n. 2), thought this epigraph was not *a prima manu*, and adds, 'potius antiquiorem codicem crederem, praesertim si litterarum formas spectare velimus.'

v. *Add.* 7183 is also a Jacobite Massoretic work, and includes some ecclesiastical writings, as well as the books of the Bible. It seems to be of the early part of the twelfth century, and is very fully described in *Catalogus Codd. Orientt. Mus. Brit.* i. (Rosen & Forshall), pp. 64-71.

¹ Or Sigara, or Singara (رد شيرابا), the name of a city and its district, now Sinjar, east of the Mygdonius. Smith's *Dict. Greek and Roman Geography*; Wiltzsch, *Atlas sacer* (Gothae, 1843), Tab. iv. Like other sees already named, it was at one time under Jacobite, at another under Nestorian rule. See Wiltzsch, *Statisties*, i. § 153 and note, and § 334 and note.

² So Wiseman transliterates ܒܝܬܫܚܪܐ, and (p. 198, n.) identifies it with a place near Nineveh, doubtless the same as the Beth Sacheraye in *Thes. Syr.*, col. 491, a place mentioned in a note dated A.D. 1272, appended to *Cod. Add.* 21,210, a MS. which was in A.D. 1242 in the Church of St. Thomas at Mosul, and contains, *inter alia*, a discourse by Rabban Daniel on the distinction between the Christ and the Eucharist. *Cat. B. M.*, ii. pp. 879, 881-2.

vi. The *Bibliothèque Nationale* of Paris possesses a Massoretic MS. of the eleventh century. 'Il s'accorde entièrement avec le MS. Vat. N^o. 152.'

[*Cat. des MSS. Syr. de la Bib. Nat.* (H. Zotenberg), N^o. 64.]

vii. M. L'Abbé Martin mentions another, of the year A. D. 1015, which is now in the Cathedral of Mosul¹.

[*Critique Textuelle du N. T., Partie Théorique*, p. 291.]

There are also other Massoretic codices in the British Museum, but they are on a smaller scale, and some of them contain only a few books of the Bible.

The extracts which are appended to this essay are fair specimens of the text of the Syriac Massorah. Besides the marginal notes of grammar and pronunciation which are there exhibited, readings are sometimes quoted in the *Fatican* and *Barberini MSS.*, and in *Add.* 12,178, under references which are undoubtedly to certain eminent critics. Of such men Sergius, Philoxenus, and others are quoted by name; also one Sabba, whom we may identify with Deacon Sabba of Espeklis² (the convent *Specula* near Reshaina), the famous scribe 'who did not make a blotted *da* in the whole Testament.' He copied MSS. in the first half of the eighth century³, and, as M. Duval has shown⁴, his name is associated with the scribe Tubhana Santa (ܬܘܒܗܢܐ ܫܢܬܐ), or, if the strange form be not an error, Satana—

¹ This MS., Prof. Guidi informs me, is probably the original of a Massoretic MS., now in the library of the Propaganda (*Museo Borgiano*), which he describes as 'una copia recentissima di un codice Karkafense di Mossoul.'

² ܫܒܒܐ. There are several forms of the name (*Thes. Syr.*, col. 2706). The editor of *Cat. Brit. Mus.* (iii. p. 1263) writes 'the Specula or Watch-tower !' but the Syriac, no doubt, represents the Latin word, or some Grecized form of it. So *Land*, quoted in *Thes. Syr.*, col. 316.

³ *E.g.* *Add.* 14,430 (1 Kings, *Pesh.*), A. G. 1035 = A. D. 724, *Add.* 12,135 (pt. of Ezekiel, *Pesh.*), A. G. 1037. To the latter is appended a note, which shows that the codex was originally the last of a complete Testament, and contains the above-quoted boast, ܫܒܒܐ ܕܐܢܐ ܠܐ ܗܝܬ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܕܢܐ ܕܡܕܢܐ ܕܡܕܢܐ [ܫܒܒܐ ܕܐܢܐ ܠܐ ܗܝܬ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܕܢܐ ܕܡܕܢܐ ܕܡܕܢܐ].

⁴ *Journal Asiatique*, 1884, p. 560, arguing from a passage in *Bar Bahlul Lex. Syro-Arab.*, which is quoted (from the MS.) in *Thes. Syr.*, col. 2677. See also Stade's *Zeitsch. f. d. Alt. Wissensch.* (G. Hoffmann), 1881, p. 159; *Syr. Lit.* (Wright) in *Encyclop. Brit.*, 9th ed., p. 826.

ܡܬܬܢܐ. To this scribe, or to some other Tubhana, must the references be which are made under the term ܡܬܬܢܐ, or its abbreviation ܡܬܢ. Wiseman¹ thought that ܡܬܬܢܐ referred to the Peshitto, but his conclusion was drawn from mere coincidences between the quotations and the form of Peshitto text which he employed. While these coincidences are indisputable, there remains the difficulty that no evidence has been adduced that the Peshitto was known as the Tubhana.

On the margin of *Add.* 12,178 there are some references in this form, ܡܬܬܢܐ ܡܬܬܢܐ ܡܬܬܢܐ, one of the *Karkaphayee* used to say. The same proper name occurs in the adjectival form ܡܬܬܢܐ in the titles of *Codd. Vatic.* 152 and *Add.* 7183. Hence the well-known designation of this form of text², but it really belongs to one of the sources of the Massorah, and does not connote the whole class of Massoretic MSS. Müller's³ explanation was:—'Carcufense exemplar nomen habet ab oppido Carcuf, quod Syri ܩܪܥܘܒ, Arabes قرقوب vocabant. Erat Mesopotamiae urba.' Adler refers to Herbelot⁴ s. v. *Carcub*, as though he would identify the town with one of which the name is also spelled Corcub, and Carcoub, in the province of Ahwaz⁵. This district was not without literary fame in other departments, but is too far eastwards to have been the home of the Syriac Massorah. Even the Nestorian Massoretic codex (*Add.* 12,138) was written at Harran. Müller's derivation from a proper name is nearer the truth than Assemani's translation *Montana*, as though it were the Version peculiar to the Highlanders. Castell adopts the

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 158 n. 14, 224. ܡܬܬܢܐ = beatus, and is often used as a mere title; cf. our *gallant*, *learned*. In *Theo. Syr.*, col. 1439, are many examples of its use for all classes of people, but none of its use to designate writings.

² *Versio Karkaphensis* has been repeated by subsequent writers from J. S. Assemani (*Bib. Orient.* ii. 283), who quotes from Bar-Hebraeus; see Wiseman, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

³ *Andreae Mulleri Dissertationes*, 1673, p. 40, referring to scholia of Bar-Hebraeus on Ps. 107. 23, 136. 1.

⁴ Barth. d'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, i. pp. 130, 506; cf. *Aufsedae Tabulae Geographicae* (H. F. Wüstenfeld), pp. 26, 27.

⁵ See *Géographie Universelle* (V. de Saint Martin), i. 40; Herbelot, *op. cit.*, i. 131.

same rendering, but this meaning is very doubtful¹. The adjective occurs in Matthew xxvii. 33, and the parallel passages, as a translation of *κρῆλον*, and this seems to be its proper meaning². It would be analogous to other names of monasteries³ that there should be one called 'the Skull' from its situation on a skull-shaped hill-top, and then *ܟܪܟܦܗܝܬܐ*, *Karkaphensian*, would indicate the form of text which was favoured in the Scriptorium of the Skull. Assemani in *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, vol. ii. p. 78, alluding to a MS.⁴ of Petrus Junior of Antioch, which contains part of his *Adv. Damianum*, says that this copy was written for 'the Monks of Karkapheta of the Magdalayee,' which, however, he translates *Montis Magdolorum*. Magdal is mentioned by Bar Hebraeus⁵ in connection with certain transactions in the year of the Arabs 577 (= A.D. 1181-2), 'Araban and Magdal and other places of [the district of] the Chaboura⁶,' which flows by Reshaina⁷. Another allusion to the Skull Convent is found in a note, dated A.D. 839, in a fragment of a Philosophical

¹ Assemani, l. c.; *Ed. Castelli Lex. Syr.*, 1788, p. 835.

² Cf. *Buxtorfs Lex. Chald. et Rabb.*, s. v. ܟܪܟܐ, i. e. caput, col. 2151.

³ Cf. *Specula Convent*, p. 59 above. There may have been a village *Karkaphata*, as there was an *Eagle's Nest Convent* (cf. *Add.* 14,726, fol. 59), and a town of the same name—ܟܪܟܦܗܝܬܐ, *Add.* 14,591, fol. 139. Near Tella was *Quarry Convent*, *Theo. Syr.*, col. 3190. *Ladder Convent* is mentioned in *Add.* 18,295 (cf. *Theo. Syr.*, col. 2504), no doubt deriving its name from the mode of access to it, and in *Add.* 14,602 (fol. 82 a), ܟܪܟܦܗܝܬܐ = *Domus Umbrarum*. In *Add.* 17,110, fol. 76, we have mention of ܟܪܟܦܗܝܬܐ, 'John and Chacim, brethren, priests, *Spekelayee*,' i. e. of *Specula Convent*, analogous to the meaning assigned above to *Karkaphayee*.

⁴ Described as *Codex CVIII* in the *Biblioth. Vaticanas MSS. Catal.* iii. 70.

⁵ *Chronicon*, Dynast. X, 385 (Bruns et Kirsch). In the *Paris* (1890) Edition, p. 358, we have for ܟܪܟܦܗܝܬܐ (Araban) the form ܟܪܟܦܗܝܬܐ, which approximates to ܟܪܟܦܗܝܬܐ (*Theo. Syr.*, col. 2986) *nomen vici et regionis Turabdinensis*. This would be another connection with the Upper Chaboras.

⁶ Or *Chaboras*, the *Habor* of the O. T., also known as the *Araxes*. For this, and the above-named towns, see *Ainsworth*, i. ch. 12.

⁷ Also called *Theodosiopolis*, and marked on modern maps as *Râs el Aina*. It was a place of importance in Syriac literature, for the name often occurs in colophons and notes of MSS.

work¹, the note stating that the book was written in the Convent Karkapheta, for Ishai bar Chabib of Ramni near Mardin. Mardin was north of Reshaina, and nearer to the region which from the number of its convents was called Tur-Abdin, the Mount of [God's] Servants. L'Abbé Martin² thinks we should look in the neighbourhood of Amid for the site of the Skull Convent: the allusions which we have quoted rather suggest a site further south, the district of the Chaboura, and the neighbourhood of Reshaina; but the precise locality cannot be determined.

It may be regarded as accidental that only one of the extant Massoretic MSS. the first which we have described, belongs to the Nestorian school. Although it does not exhibit those marginal notes and references to critics which abound in the *Vatican*, the *Barberini*, and the *Add. 12,178* manuscripts, yet it is a work of such extent and completeness as to show that Massoretic studies were as much followed amongst the Nestorians as amongst the Jacobites, and certainly as early as the conclusion of the ninth century. The oldest Jacobite copy, *Add. 12,178*, is perhaps not much younger than the Nestorian Massoretic codex: we have already seen (pp. 59, 60) that the *Karkaphayee* and others are referred to in it as earlier labourers in the same field. Still more significant is the use of the word ܠܡܬܪܬܝܢ. This was rendered by Wiseman, *Versio* (*Hor. Syr.*, 156 and n.). He chiefly relies on the use of the word in the title of the Syriac translation of the LXX from the Hexaplar³; but even there ܠܡܬܪܬܝܢ need not denote more than *tradition*, which is its proper meaning⁴—the form of text as handed down through the Seventy. The

¹ It is now *fol.* 5 and 6 of *Add. 17,125*; see *Catalogue*, p. 1164, col. 2.

² *Critique Textuelle*, p. 285; but Professor Hoffmann in *Zeit. d. Morgenl. Gesellsch.* XXXII, 1878, p. 745, contends that Karkaphatha was 'bei der Stadt Maghdal am Habbora Fluss.'

³ See *Cod. Syr.-Hexap. Ambr.-Mediol.* (Norberg), 1787; *Monum. Sac. et Prof.* (Cariani), t. i. fas. 1.

⁴ *Nomenclator Syriacus* (Ferrarius), col. 351; cf. *Matt. xv. 2 etc. Pesà. and Herack.*

While we cannot at present point out the particular college in which Massoretic studies were first pursued, or indicate with certainty who was their author, yet some names may be mentioned as those of critics who must have had a share in the work, more or less direct. Two centuries before *Add.* 12,138 was written, grammatical and philological studies were sedulously pursued and promoted at Edessa by Jacob, who, after a long episcopacy, died in 710². At Nisibis the rector of the school during many years of the sixth century was Joseph Huzita: it has been thought that he was the founder of the Massoretic art in that city³. Again, the *Tract* which forms part of *Add.* 12,178⁴ suggests a connection between these criticisms and the labours of one *Thomas the Deacon*. Perhaps this was the well-known Thomas Heracleensis⁵. Or perhaps Thomas of Edessa is intended⁶, the

⁶ So L'Abbé Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 286. To this author is due the credit of

teacher of Mar Abbas, who was elected (Nestorian) Catholicus in 536. Subsequently Thomas embraced his pupil's Nestorianism, and was associated with him in literary work during the first half of the sixth century¹.

Whatever may be the date of the birth of the Syriac Massorah, it is indisputable that it had attained maturity in the century which succeeded the era of the youngest of our best copies of the Peshitto². It will follow therefore that the significance of these traditions to the modern critic is different from that of the Hebrew Massorah. To this we owe all our knowledge of the form of the Jewish Scriptures³, except in so far as ancient versions modify the verdict of the Massoretic MSS. But the Syriac Massorah is younger than our oldest copies of the Syriac Bible, and the Massorah with the MSS. of all ages support and supplement one another, The Syriac Massorah was suggested by the Jewish⁴; it had its birth in the same country⁵; it was designed for similar

having carefully studied our present subject twenty years ago. See his *Tradition Karkaphienne, ou la Massore chez les Syriens*, and other Essays.

¹ Dr. Gwynn in *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, iv. p. 1013.

² There are many interesting copies of comparatively late date, such as *Crawf. II* (p. 54 above), but, if we apply to Syriac the rules of criticism laid down by some writers—see, e. g. *Greek Test.* (Alford), ed. 1874, Proleg. VI. i. 24-29—their testimony is of little worth. Yet in *Academy* (July, 1890) Professor Sanday recognizes the value of diplomatic evidence of all ages in determining the archetypal text. However, in the case of the Peshitto, the question need not be discussed, for we possess so many ancient copies of it that we can afford to disregard all which are later than the somewhat remarkable eighth century MS., *Add.* 14,456, or the Nestorian New Testament of A. D. 758, *Add.* 7157.

³ Dr. Neubauer's paper in this vol.; Thrupp in *Bible Dict.* ii. p. 608. The oldest Hebrew Old Testament MS. is said to be the *Cod. Babylonicus* of A. D. 916, so that even the most ancient is subsequent to the Hebrew Massorah.

⁴ For the Syrians were not so much inventors, as imitators and improvers. For example, in criticism they adopted and expanded the harmonistic system of Eusebius (*Stud. Bib.*, 1890, No. VIII), in writing a MS. they imitated the forms and words of the Greek scribes (cf. Wright in *B. M. Cat.*, Pref., xxvii), their liturgical terminology is largely Greek. Yet, strangely enough, it has been argued (see Mr. Harris' interesting article *Massorah* in *Jew. Q. R.* i.; *Encyclop. Brit.*, 9th ed., xi. 600) that the Hebrew Massorah owed much to the Syriac. It is almost certain that the contrary was the fact.

⁵ One of the centres of Nestorian Church life in the sixth and seventh centuries, Naarda, had, at an earlier period, been the seat of a famous Rabbinical

purposes; it even had a double recension, eastern and western, like its Jewish prototype; but, owing to more favourable circumstances, we do not depend upon it for our Peshitto text, although it has a great value in questions of pronunciation, of accentuation, and of interpunction.

III.

A. Besides copies of the Peshitto, we have, if such aid were required, Versions in Arabic and in Persian¹, which, in part, at least, are direct translations from the Syriac. At one time it was supposed that emendations of the Peshitto text might be successfully made by the help of the Versions², but there is no need now to seek evidence in that direction, for there are in our hands, through later discoveries, copies of the original Syriac, which are not only older than the copies of the Versions of it, but which were written before the Versions themselves were made. Thus the case is different from that of many ancient documents, in the criticism of which Versions are often of paramount importance.

B. Again, if native works of the second and third centuries had survived to our day, we should possess materials which might possibly afford the same supplement to the evidence for the Peshitto text which quotations in the most ancient Latin Church writers afford to the *Old Latin*. In the fourth century we have Aphraates³ and Ephraim⁴. Their many quotations from the Scriptures are useful as evidence of the school. Cf. p. 52 n. above; Etheridge's *Hebrew Literature*, p. 154; Buxtorff *Lex. Chald. et Rabb.*, col. 1313. At Ninibis also was a large colony of Jews and a School.—Neubauer (*Geographie*), p. 370.

¹ Reuss, *History of Scriptures of New Test.* (tr. Houghton, 1884), §§ 437. 441; Bleek, *Einleitung in das Neue Test.*, 1886, §§ 281, 282. An Arabic Version in parallel columns with the Peshitto (*Add.* 14,467 is a part of the work) is described by J. Gildemeister, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-6.

² Cf. Wichelhaus, *op. cit.*, p. 229; Michaelis, *op. cit.*, vol. II, ch. vii, § 3.

³ *Homiliae [ejus] inter annos 337 et 345 conscriptae*, Bickell, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

⁴ Born about 308, died 373—Bickell l. c.; *Dict. Christian Biography*, s. v. For St. Ephraim's quotations see Mr. Wood's paper in this volume—a valuable addition to our knowledge of the text employed by that Father—and, especially for the Old Testament, G. Z. Spohn's *Collatio Ver. Syr. c. S. Eph. Commentario*; Lengerke's *Commentatio de Eph. S.S. interprete*; A. Pohlman's *S. Eph. Commentariorum Commentatio*.

characteristics of the translations which they employed ; but, like other early writers, they did not aim at strict accuracy of reference, so that their citations have no claim to overrule the verdict of the most ancient codices ; for these in actual age approximate to the times of Ephraim and Aphraates, while they are the representatives of a text which was at least current in the days of those writers. It ought to be unnecessary to repeat that exemplars are witnesses to texts which are older than the leaves of the codices. There are no grounds whatever for the suspicion that such MSS. as *Add.* 14,459 or 17,117 belong to the 'first edition,' so to speak, of the Peshitto. If therefore they are *copies*, then was the Peshitto either published between the death of St. Ephraim and the middle of the fifth century, or else it was known to the writer and used by him.

In deciding between conflicting hypotheses, that must always be preferred which presents the fewest difficulties. And the difficulties involved in the supposition that the Peshitto is subsequent to the days of Mar Ephraim are certainly many. It leaves unexplained the close affinities (in spite of some divergences) between the Version used by Ephraim and Aphraates and the Peshitto of the fifth century—the absence of any trace of the rise of the Peshitto immediately before the oldest copies were made—the disappearance of every MS. of the Ante-Peshitto. To judge from the practice of the scribes in the seventh century, who copied both the Peshitto and the Heracleian revision of it, it would be reasonable to expect to find copies of the Ante-Peshitto as well as of the Peshitto itself. Only one codex has ever been claimed as a representative of the former type of text. But unfortunately *Add.* 14,451 lacks those details of origin and locality out of which, in conjunction with the probable date of the MS., the history of the text might be constructed¹.

The conclusion is, that in our oldest Peshitto MSS. we can read the New Testament as it was known to the Syrians of

¹ 'In order to recover the true text of any ancient document, it is necessary first to know its history.'—*Studia Biblica*, ii. p. 240, Note by W. S.

the fourth century. We do not require to correct our text by quotations, and still less would there be any excuse now for those conjectural emendations which were proposed by some critics before the present diplomatic evidence was available¹.

IV.

The ancient codices which we have enumerated represent each of the two great divisions of Syrian Christendom. At a later period Nestorian² MSS. presented marked characteristics, partly in readings, still more in vowel-marks, and in handwriting and ornamentation. Many of the differences in reading which have been noted are due, however, to the circumstance that the Jacobite MSS. with which the Eastern copies were compared were older, and preserved an older text for the most part. Some of the oldest Non-Nestorian copies are indeed so ancient, e. g. *Add.* 14,459 and 17,117 (pp. 53, 54 above), that they may fairly be claimed as representatives of the undivided Syrian Church. In the sixth and following centuries the schism was completed, and between the Eastern

¹ Emendations which are defended principally because they conform the Syriac to the Greek (such as some in *Text. Ver. Semp. coll. c. duobus MSS. Bodl.*, R. Jones, 1805, and some quoted in Schaaf's *Appendix*) would be desirable in a missionary publication, but for critical purposes the Peshitto must rest on the authority of its own MSS. There are no doubt cases where a trivial change in the Syriac characters would produce a preferable reading. Such are—in Mat. viii. 4 ܠܠܥܝܬܐ (*lepei*) for ܠܠܥܝܬܐ (*lepeūsi*); in Mat. ix. 36 ܡܥܡܐ, which better represents the ἑρμηνεῖς, for ܡܥܡܐ; in Luke ii. 10 ܠܠܥܝܬܐ (τῷ λαῷ) for ܠܠܥܝܬܐ (world); in Luke ii. 30 ܡܥܡܐ (τὸ σωτήριόν σου) for ܡܥܡܐ (thymercy), and many others; but they are against diplomatic evidence. To all such changes, whether in the Peshitto or the Greek, Wichelhaus' canon will apply, *Critici et Editoris est talem textum servare qualis in libris reperitur*—*op. cit.*, p. 228.

² This term is sometimes applied (but inaccurately) rather to the style of writing than to the type of text—see Wright in *Cat. Brit. Mus.* iii. Pref. p. xxxi. n. The designations *Jacobite* and *Nestorian* are neither strictly accurate nor always applicable. In the earlier periods there was no well-defined local boundary between the sects. At the present day it is doubtful how far the original theological distinctions still prevail, and whether the ancient Churches of the East are in actual as they certainly are in formal heresy. With Walton's sympathetic words (quoted in *Scrivener*, p. 312 n) compare *Some Notes of Travel* (Trench); *Review and Correspondence* in *Guardian*, June and July, 1890; Riley's *Visit to Assyrian Christians*.

and Western copies of those times differences may be discovered which point to different streams of tradition in the monasteries, while the text itself is undoubtedly the same. The following pages afford a specimen of such variations, those, namely, which are found in the earliest copies, and which relate almost exclusively to the consonants of the unpunctuated text.

ST. MARK I-V.

1. 2. *ܐܝܢ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ*¹

<p>WESTERN OR JACOBITE READINGS. <i>ܐܝܢ</i> = <i>ἰδοὺ</i> (in cod. 8 ? added).</p>	<p>EASTERN OR NESTORIAN READINGS. <i>ܐܝܢ</i>, i. e. <i>ὅτι ἰδοὺ</i>, to introduce quotation.</p>
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5. *ܐܡܪ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ*

<p><i>ܐܡܪ</i> = <i>ἐν τῇ Ἰερδάνῃ</i>; so 8, first hand.</p>	<p>+ <i>ܐܡܪ</i> = <i>ποταμῷ</i>; so 8, later hand.</p>
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6. *ܐܡܪ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ*

<p>Most old MSS. <i>ܐܡܪ</i> (<i>cibus ejus</i>) scriptio defectiva.</p>	<p><i>ܐܡܪ</i>, scriptio plena, the more grammatical form; cf. <i>Thes. Syr.</i> (R. Payne Smith), col. 181.</p>
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7. *ܐܡܪ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ*

<p><i>ܐܡܪ</i> (<i>Peal</i>) = <i>κύψας</i>—lit., <i>that I should stoop</i>.</p>	<p><i>ܐܡܪ</i> (<i>Ethpeal</i>), and in several copies of the other class.</p>
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Of the form in the *Peal* conjugation no example is given in the *Thesaurus*. Perhaps it is archaic, and was modernized in some copies, and by the Easterns. But the sense is the same.
16. *ܐܡܪ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ*

<p><i>ܐܡܪ</i> or <i>ܐܡܪ</i> (<i>Andrew</i>), and ver. 29.</p>	<p><i>ܐܡܪ</i>, so codd. 8 23.</p>
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The spelling of proper names is often varied in different places of the same MS.
20. *ܐܡܪ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ*

<p><i>ܐܡܪ</i> = <i>ἐν τῇ πλοίῳ μετὰ τῶν μισθωτῶν</i>.</p>	<p>om. <i>ἐν τῇ πλοίῳ</i>; so 8 by erasure.</p>
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21. *ܐܡܪ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ*

<p><i>ܐܡܪ</i> = <i>εἰσπορεύονται</i>; so the <i>American (Nestorian) Edition</i>.</p>	<p><i>ܐܡܪ</i> = <i>εἰσπορεύεται</i>; so some Jacobite copies; see variants in <i>Tischendorf</i>.</p>
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¹ In quoting passages for the reader's convenience here and below, it is not intended to express a final judgment on the text.

ܠܠܗܐ ܠܐܢܐ ܕܥܠܐ ܕܠܐܐܝܬܐ = *vir* | ܕܥܠܐ ܠܐܢܐ ܕܠܐܐܝܬܐ — *in quo erat* — I. 23
in quo est spiritus immundus | marking distinctly the past
—historical present tense. | tense. A revised reading.

ܠܠܗܐ ܠܐܢܐ ܕܥܠܐ ܕܠܐܐܝܬܐ 27

ܠܐܢܐ ܠܠܗܐ = *disciplina haec.* | ܠܠܗܐ ܠܐܢܐ = *haec disciplina.*

ܠܠܗܐ ܠܐܢܐ ܕܥܠܐ ܕܠܐܐܝܬܐ 31

ܠܠܗܐ ܠܐܢܐ ܕܥܠܐ ܕܠܐܐܝܬܐ = *δ πυρετός αὐτῆς*, but some | ܠܠܗܐ ܠܐܢܐ ܕܥܠܐ ܕܠܐܐܝܬܐ, without *αὐτῆς*, and appar-
copies—e.g. 15, 21—favour the | *ently adapted to the Greek.*
other class.

ܠܠܗܐ ܠܐܢܐ ܕܥܠܐ ܕܠܐܐܝܬܐ 42

ܠܠܗܐ ܠܐܢܐ ܕܥܠܐ ܕܠܐܐܝܬܐ = *ἡ λέπρα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.* | ܠܠܗܐ ܠܐܢܐ ܕܥܠܐ ܕܠܐܐܝܬܐ = *ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἡ λέπρα.*

The Jacobite and Nestorian readings correspond to variants in
the Greek: see the editions of *Tischendorf* and others. ܠܠܗܐ ܠܐܢܐ ܕܥܠܐ ܕܠܐܐܝܬܐ, with
ܐܢܐ, might represent *ἡ λέπρα αὐτοῦ*, if in ver. 31 ܠܠܗܐ ܠܐܢܐ ܕܥܠܐ ܕܠܐܐܝܬܐ = *δ πυρετός αὐτῆς*.

ܠܠܗܐ ܠܐܢܐ ܕܥܠܐ ܕܠܐܐܝܬܐ ܠܠܗܐ ܠܐܢܐ ܕܥܠܐ ܕܠܐܐܝܬܐ II. 4

ܠܠܗܐ ܠܐܢܐ ܕܥܠܐ ܕܠܐܐܝܬܐ = *τὸν κράββατον.* | ܠܠܗܐ ܠܐܢܐ ܕܥܠܐ ܕܠܐܐܝܬܐ (so cod. 21), to express
distinctly the objective case.

ܠܠܗܐ ܠܐܢܐ ܕܥܠܐ ܕܠܐܐܝܬܐ ܠܠܗܐ ܠܐܢܐ ܕܥܠܐ ܕܠܐܐܝܬܐ 16
ܠܠܗܐ ܠܐܢܐ ܕܥܠܐ ܕܠܐܐܝܬܐ ܠܠܗܐ ܠܐܢܐ ܕܥܠܐ ܕܠܐܐܝܬܐ

For *ἐσθίοντα*, ܠܠܗܐ ܠܐܢܐ ܕܥܠܐ ܕܠܐܐܝܬܐ; for *ἐσθίει* | ܠܠܗܐ ܠܐܢܐ ܕܥܠܐ ܕܠܐܐܝܬܐ, and ܠܠܗܐ ܠܐܢܐ ܕܥܠܐ ܕܠܐܐܝܬܐ, using the same
ܠܠܗܐ ܠܐܢܐ ܕܥܠܐ ܕܠܐܐܝܬܐ | Syriac for the one Greek verb.

ܠܠܗܐ ܠܐܢܐ ܕܥܠܐ ܕܠܐܐܝܬܐ is *to take food*, and therefore specially appropriate here,
while ܠܠܗܐ ܠܐܢܐ ܕܥܠܐ ܕܠܐܐܝܬܐ is *to eat* figuratively as well as literally.

ܠܠܗܐ ܠܐܢܐ ܕܥܠܐ ܕܠܐܐܝܬܐ ܠܠܗܐ ܠܐܢܐ ܕܥܠܐ ܕܠܐܐܝܬܐ 18

ܠܠܗܐ ܠܐܢܐ ܕܥܠܐ ܕܠܐܐܝܬܐ = *[καὶ ἦσαν] οἱ μαθηταὶ Ἰωάννου* | ܠܠܗܐ ܠܐܢܐ ܕܥܠܐ ܕܠܐܐܝܬܐ = *οἱ τῶν Φαρισαίων* in both
καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι, but in the | places; so codd. 21 23. The
latter half of the ver. ܠܠܗܐ ܠܐܢܐ ܕܥܠܐ ܕܠܐܐܝܬܐ | variants, as in I. 21, 42, corre-
= *οἱ τῶν Φαρισαίων.* | spond to those in the Greek.

ܠܠܗܐ ܠܐܢܐ ܕܥܠܐ ܕܠܐܐܝܬܐ ܠܠܗܐ ܠܐܢܐ ܕܥܠܐ ܕܠܐܐܝܬܐ 20

ܠܠܗܐ ܠܐܢܐ ܕܥܠܐ ܕܠܐܐܝܬܐ = *ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὁ θυμ-* | ܠܠܗܐ ܠܐܢܐ ܕܥܠܐ ܕܠܐܐܝܬܐ, transposed, ܠܠܗܐ ܠܐܢܐ ܕܥܠܐ ܕܠܐܐܝܬܐ; so 21
φλος. | by erasure.

The Western reading follows the order of the Greek, but the
Eastern is perhaps a better Syriac order.

- III. 28 **ܡܕܝܢܐ ܫܬܝܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ**
 Υἱὸς τῶν ἀνθρώπων is in oldest MSS. usually expressed by **ܡܕܝܢܐ**,
 as here cod. 40: in later copies, and in the Nestorian, usually by
ܡܕܝܢܐ; but there is much inconsistency. In the Eastern MSS. are
 found the defective forms **ܡܕܝܢܐ** and **ܡܕܝܢܐ**, but not exclusively,
 while **ܡܕܝܢܐ** and **ܡܕܝܢܐ** are somewhat more frequent in the older
 Jacobite copies. So **ܡܕܝܢܐ** and **ܡܕܝܢܐ**, **ܡܕܝܢܐ** and **ܡܕܝܢܐ**,
 and other full or contracted forms are used indifferently in MSS.
 of both classes and all ages.
- 35 **ܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ**
 Most copies transpose, **ܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ** = **ܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ**,
 (var. lect. **ܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ**) in exact order of the Greek.
- IV. 5 **ܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ**
ܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ = (lit.) where no **ܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ** = where
 earth. See also i. 23 above. there was no earth—conformed
 to the context.
- 21 **ܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ**
 For **ܡܕܝܢܐ** and **ܡܕܝܢܐ**, **ܡܕܝܢܐ**. **ܡܕܝܢܐ**, an orthographical
 See *Theo. Syr.*, col. 2560; correction, found also in some
Nestle, Syr. Gr. (1889), 46^b Jacobite MSS.
 and note 7.
- 33 **ܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ**
ܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ = 'Ιησοῦς αὐτοῖς **ܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ** = αὐτοῖς 'Ιησοῦς.
 (18 om. **ܡܕܝܢܐ**). This transposition is the reverse of that in ii. 20; there the
 Western has the objective case first, here the Eastern. Both add
 'Ιησοῦς, which is not in the original.
- 40 **ܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ**
ܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ = **ܡܕܝܢܐ**. **ܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ**; emphatic form.
 The two forms differ little in meaning—see examples in *Theo.*
Syr., col. 1007—but from the *usus* of the Peshitto N.T. the Nes-
 torian form would seem to be a correction. See Schaaf's *Lex. Syr.*
Concord., p. 131.
- V. 27 **ܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ**
ܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ = she came . . . With codd. 17 21 23 . . . **ܡܕܝܢܐ**
 she touched. See the variants **ܡܕܝܢܐ** = she came . . . and
 in *Tischendorf*. she touched.

	.ⲓϥⲁⲛⲉⲧⲏ ⲙⲑⲟⲩ ⲡⲓⲱⲙⲉ ⲡⲓⲱⲙ V. 40
ⲙⲑⲟⲩ ⲡⲓⲱⲙ = ⲟⲩ ⲃⲉ ⲉⲕⲃⲁⲗⲟⲛ.	| ⲙⲑⲟⲩ ⲡⲓⲱⲙ ⲡⲓⲱⲙ = ⲟⲩ ⲃⲉ Ἰησοῦς ⲉⲕⲃⲁⲗⲟⲛ, and so cod. 40.

The variations which belong to one family are sometimes found in individuals of the other group.

The following readings of the Nestorian New Testament, *Add.* 14,448, may be noticed. In Acts xx. 28 there is an erasure *before* = Christi, but nothing to show that the reading was ever = Dei. In Heb. ii. 9 we find , the third word being thus written over an erasure, and that no doubt of , so that *a prima manu* it would have been *ipse enim, excepto Deo, pro omnibus gustavit mortem*. In Rom. ix. 5, 1 Cor. v. 8 (1 Tim. iii. 16 is lost), this MS. read as *Add.* 14,479, etc.

Those who have access to my *Proposal to publish a Revised Text of the Peshitto Gospels* (for private circulation), 1887, will find other readings quoted from the Nestorian Tetraevangelium *Add.* 14,460 (7), and from *Add.* 7157, there called D.

The classification of readings which we have made in the above review of five chapters of the Peshitto is the result of the careful collation of fifteen¹ ancient codices, of which ten were collated by the late P. E. Pusey. The division of them between the Eastern and Western families is not difficult to make. We have already seen (pp. 50-4) that some copies plainly declare their origin, either by facts recorded in the colophons, or by the character of the writing. The texts of these afford data by which the remainder may be judged. By continuing throughout the New Testament the process of which the above is a specimen, a Table would be constructed which would serve as a test for other copies, and would exhibit the real nature of the differences between the Eastern and the Western Schools. But, in fact, our specimen is itself sufficient. From it the student can see—

(i) That there were two distinct streams of tradition in

¹ They are the Jacobite Codices 2, 5, 11, 14, 15, 17, 18, 20, 21, 23, 36, and the Nestorian 7, 8, 16, 33, with the Nestorian American Edition. See p. 103.

the transmission of the vernacular of the Syriac Church. And yet—

(ii) That only one text is supported by the two lines of evidence.

The MS. which we designate No. 8 is interesting and important in the history of the Peshitto text. The style of handwriting suggests the work of a scribe who belonged to some Nestorian monastery. It remained in the custody of possessors by whom Nestorian vowels and accents were added, and the text was in places corrected to the Nestorian type. But such correction shows that its prototype was related to MSS. of the other class. That the scribe chose a Jacobite model for his MS. is unlikely: far more probable is it that the differences between the Schools were not finally established in his time. If so, it will follow that the Nestorian type is the result of correction and revision, and therefore that the Jacobite is the older. And further, our careful collations of other MSS. show that the Monophysite copies of the sixth century, such as *Vaticanus* (A.D. 548) or *Florentinus* (A.D. 586), conform in character to the fifth century copies *Add.* 14,459, 14,470, and 17,117, which may fairly be considered as rather pre-Nestorian than Jacobite. Again, the Nestorian type is closely related in many of its grammatical forms to the later Jacobite MSS., such as *Crawford II*, and also to the text of Widmanstadt's edition, which, as I have shown in a former essay, was printed from Jacobite or Maronite exemplars¹.

V.

In the *Prolegomena to Tregelles' Greek Testament* (1879, p. xxvii, col. 1) the writer names the Version *commonly printed as the Peshito* (sic), and adds, 'of this I collated the whole of Rich's MS., 7157 [cf. p. 53, above] in the British Museum: this MS. is a good proof how the Syriac scribes modernized their copies.' Similar assertions have been made, or repeated,

¹ *Studia Biblica*, ii. p. 268.

by other writers, and are very misleading. The differences between a fifth century and an eighth century Peshitto MS., while not quite of the same kind, are in number less numerous than those which distinguish an English Bible as printed at the present day from Bibles which were published at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Of more important variations, an eighth century Syriac copy, Nestorian or Jacobite, would contain about, on an average, one in every chapter; but of these only a few would have any bearing on the relation of the version to the Greek archetype.

Again, it has been said that the present Peshitto is 'the gradually formed product of several successive revisions¹.' How far these various assertions are true of the materials available for the criticism of the Peshitto New Testament must be carefully considered, and a minute examination of even a small portion of the text, with comparison of variants, will suffice to show the character and the extent of the differences between different copies which were produced in different localities and at different ages. We select the last eighteen verses of the 5th chapter of St. Matthew, a passage where we are able to adduce the testimony of twenty witnesses². They are:—

¹ Hammond, *Textual Criticism*, 1890, p. 57; cf. *The New Testament* (Westcott and Hort), p. 84, and Tregelles in *Bible Dictionary*, iii. p. 1625 f. Mr. Hammond refers to Ridley's *De Syriacarum Nov. Foed. Versionum indole et usu dissertatio*; but the author (§§ vii, viii, pp. 28, 31) admits that the *Simplex* was read in the fourth century, and to account for the differences between Ephraim and the Peshitto supposes either (1) that the Old Syriac differed from that of to-day (he had not access to our ancient codices), or (2) that there were many versions, or (3) that Ephraim used the Greek. Ridley adds: 'Versionem Syrorum Simplicem Latinis omnibus esse vetustiores verisimile mihi videtur.'

² For the collations of Nos. 2, 7, 11, 12, 32 I am responsible; the readings of No. 40 have been contributed by Professor Ugolini, those of the Massorah by Dr. Bezold. My information about the variants in Nos. 13, 17, 18, 20, 23, 24, 25, 26 is derived from the note-books of the late Philip Edward Pusey. No. 10 was collated by the Rev. E. J. Perry, before he left London for the Principalship of the C. M. S. College at Kandy, Ceylon. His early death by an accident on April 2nd, 1890, has deprived me of a friend and fellow-labourer, and the Church of an earnest teacher and zealous missionary.

- (a) Fifth century, or early in sixth, *Cod. Add. Mus. Brit.* 17,117 [18], and perhaps a few years younger, *Add.* 14,470 [17].
 (β) Sixth century, *Add.* 17,116 [2], 17,115 [10], 14,461 [24], *Crawford I* [11], *Vaticanus* A.D. 548 [40], *Florentinus* A.D. 586 [26].
 (γ) Sixth or seventh century, *Add.* 14,454 [13], 12,137 [20], 17,113 [23].
 (δ) Seventh century, *Add.* 14,460 A.D. 600 [7], 14,471 A.D. 615 [32], and *Add.* 14,463 [25].
 (ε) Eighth or ninth century, *Crawford II* [12].
 (ζ) The (i) Eastern and (ii) Western Massorah.

ST. MATTHEW V. 31-48.

11 "וְאֵלֶּיךָ יָשׁוּבִים וְאֵלֶּיךָ יָשׁוּבִים כֹּה מְהֵרָה וְעַתָּה יָשׁוּבִים
 (et infra) cum *mehagyana* apud Editores Americanos.

12 "וְאֵלֶּיךָ יָשׁוּבִים וְאֵלֶּיךָ יָשׁוּבִים כֹּה מְהֵרָה וְעַתָּה יָשׁוּבִים
 חֲכָמִים וְאֵלֶּיךָ יָשׁוּבִים כֹּה מְהֵרָה וְעַתָּה יָשׁוּבִים
 חֲכָמִים Codd. 17 18 20 32: valde fluctuant. (côn pro cûn, more Nestorianorum) Editio Americana, et ubique; cf. v. 37. [וְאֵלֶּיךָ] hoc loco 23: fluctuant codd. Inter et [וְאֵלֶּיךָ] litura in 12. Om. 10 20 24 25—ita 2, nunc litura. [וְאֵלֶּיךָ] 3tia pers. fem. (hoc loco [וְאֵלֶּיךָ]) semper exhibent Edd. Widmanstadiana et Schaafiana, interdum cod. 12.

13 "וְאֵלֶּיךָ יָשׁוּבִים וְאֵלֶּיךָ יָשׁוּבִים כֹּה מְהֵרָה וְעַתָּה יָשׁוּבִים
 אֲנִי חֲכָמִים וְאֵלֶּיךָ יָשׁוּבִים כֹּה מְהֵרָה וְעַתָּה יָשׁוּבִים.

(= ôn pro ûn, et ubique) Ed. Amer., et infra. (singulariter) 10; apud Nestorr. (Mass. et Ed. Amer.) חֲכָמִים וְאֵלֶּיךָ יָשׁוּבִים: item (v. 34) וְאֵלֶּיךָ יָשׁוּבִים (v. 36) וְאֵלֶּיךָ יָשׁוּבִים, Ed. Amer.

14 "וְאֵלֶּיךָ יָשׁוּבִים וְאֵלֶּיךָ יָשׁוּבִים כֹּה מְהֵרָה וְעַתָּה יָשׁוּבִים
 וְאֵלֶּיךָ יָשׁוּבִים.

15 "וְאֵלֶּיךָ יָשׁוּבִים וְאֵלֶּיךָ יָשׁוּבִים כֹּה מְהֵרָה וְעַתָּה יָשׁוּבִים
 (et infra) Ed. Amer. [וְאֵלֶּיךָ] (d'Alâhâ) apud Nestorianos.

- (7) The American Nestorian New Testament (*New York*, 1886);
cf. p. 55 C, above.
- (8) The editio princeps of *Widmanstadt*, which was printed from
MSS. not now accessible.
- (4) The Edition of *Leusden* and *Schaaf* (p. 49, n. 4), with the
Appendix of Variations in all authorities then available¹.

¹ Schaaf, who completed the edition after Leusden's death, says (*Praef. ad Lect.*), 'adjunxi versionem ex omnibus versionibus Latinis, in primis Tremelliana [quam ipse omnium primus adornavit] propria opera compositam.' From this biblical scholars, who do not read Syriac, have derived most of their knowledge of the Peshitto N. T. We have borrowed from Schaaf in the following pages, but with adaptation to the text which we exhibit.

ST. MATTHEW V. 31-48.

31 Dictum est, quod quicumque dimittit uxorem suam, det illi scriptum repudii.

Ad rationem verbi proferendi solam pertinet nota *mehagyanas*.

32 Ego autem dico vobis, quod omnis quicumque dimittit uxorem suam, excepta causa fornicationis, efficit ei ut committat adulterium: et quicumque accipit derelictam, adulterium committit ♦

Omnis quicumque] Cum 2 (p. m.) 10 20 24 25 vertas, *omnis qui*. Cf. varr. lectt. *πᾶς ὁ ἀπολύων* et *ὁς ἀν ἀπολύσῃ*.

♦] non interrumpunt 2 32 40.

33 Rursum audistis quod dictum est antiquis; Non mentieris in iuramentis tuis, persolves autem Domino iuramenta tua.

Cod. 10, *iuramento, iuramentum*—ita *Codex Curetonianus*; cf. p. 86 infra.

34 Ego autem dico vobis, ne iuretis omnino: ne per coelum, quia solium est Dei.

Ne iuretis . . .] Praefigunt 2 10 25 32 1, quod idem valet ac *ὅτι* orationis rectae.

“هَلْ جَانَا: فَمَهْمَا يَبِي وَأَسْبَدُ نَجَاةً يَبِي. (فَلَا جَاهُ يُعْتَمَدُ: مُعْتَمِدَةً يَبِي وَمُحْكَمًا أَدَا).

حَاوَحَا (more Nestt.) Ed. Amer. حَاوَحَا, sine (-), 13.
 حَاوَحَا 2 11; حَاوَحَا 12 32; حَاوَحَا 13 40; valde
 fluctuant. حَاوَحَا, Ed. Amer. حَاوَحَا Schf., حَاوَحَا Wid.

١٠٠ "إِذَا جَاءَ جَمْعُ الْإِقْدَا: وَلَا تَمْسَسْ إِلَيْكَ حَصْحَجِي بِهِ قَبْلَ سَوَا
وَقَدْ قَالَ الْوَهَّابِيُّ: "لَوْ شِئْنَا."

حجج] hoc loco ۱۱ حجج. In codd. plerumque ح, apud Editores ح: Ed. Amer. حجج, more Nestorr. ح om. a p. m. 7.

[illegible]

[م] (et ubique) Mass. Nest. et Ed. Amer. [م]
 apud Nestorr. م. حفا (cf. v. 33) Ed. Amer.

Inter vv. 37 et 38 Rubrica **معدا معدا معدا معدا** 2 23; ita 40 in margine.

۳۳ مَضْحَكٌ وَأَلْهَامٌ: وَحَسْنَا سَجْدَ حَسْبًا ۝ عَمَّا سَجَدَ عَمَّا.

30 "أَنَا وَبِعَ الْوَدَّ إِنَّا حَقٌّ: وَإِلَّا بَامَدْنَهُ، كَذِبٌ جَبَلًا." ³¹ [Cod. 40] ...
 مَعِ وَخُشَا كَرِ كَلِّ فَعَفِي وَتَقَصَّلَا: "فَعَلَا كَذِبًا" [سَنَدًا].
 [سَنَدًا] apud Nestorr. 18 20 32.

“وَمَنْ يُؤْتَ الْحِكْمَ فَقَدْ أُوتِيَ خَيْرًا كَثِيرًا ۗ لَا يَذَرُهُ إِلَّا أَجَلٌ مُّسَمًّى ۚ وَالَّذِينَ هُمْ عَنْ آلِهِمْ وَنَسَبِهِمْ غَافِلُونَ ۖ

محمّد، \محمّد، Ed. Amer. 23. 27]

١١ ضَمُّ وَصْفُ كَرٍ قَبْلَ نَيْ: اَلْخُصْمَةُ اَلْوَسْمُ.

Ver. 42 & ver. 41 disiungit 7.

"فَمِنْهُمْ مُبِلٌ كَذِبٌ. هُوَ ذَاكَ. وَمَنْهُمْ وَجْهٌ يُنَادِي بِتَارِكِ الْكَلْبَةِ. لَا تَرْكَبُوهَا. نَحْنُ
 ١٥; om. Widman. et Schf. فَمِنْهُمْ وَجْهٌ يُنَادِي بِتَارِكِ الْكَلْبَةِ.
 Ed. Amer. Ad finem ١٥ ١٧.

“مُحَمَّدٌ رَجُلٌ مَدِينَةٌ وَمَدِينَةٌ حَقٌّ مَجِيءٌ وَهَيْبٌ لَاجِدٌ جُجُورٌ بِأَ

[1,?] addit *minio* حمقيد (=ANTIQUIS) 25—it*a Cod. Curet.*
Deest *سوم*, in marg. *سوم*; حمقيد per lituram; 18 a manu
recentiori.

35 Neque per terram, quia scabellum est quod est sub pedibus ejus : neque etiam per Urishlem, quia civitas est Regis magni.

Signum (-) saepe deest nominibus pluralibus et collectivis. *Urishlem*] Ed. Amer. *Oreshlem*—huius nominis eandem exhibet formam *Cod. Curet.* ac recentiores 12 32.

36 Neque etiam per caput tuum iurabis : quia non potes facere in eo capillum unum caesariei nigrum aut album.

Om. a p. m. *unum* 7; plura apud *Tischendorfium* (Nov. Test. ed. mai.) reperias.

37 Sed sit sermo vester, Ita, ita, et Non, non : id quod haec excedit, a malo est ♦

♦] non interruptit 32.

Rubrica, LECTIO TERTII DIEI HEBDOMADIS PRIMAE IEIUNI.

38 Audistis quod dictum est, Oculum pro oculo, et dentem pro ⁴⁸₅ dente :

39 Ego autem dico vobis, ut non surgatis contra malum : sed ^{[48 sed . . .}₅ quicumque percutit te super maxillam tuam dexteram, obverte illi ^{Cod. 40]} etiam alteram.

40 Et quicumque vult contendere tecum, et accipiet tunicam tuam, relinque illi etiam pallium tuum.

Etiam] *et etiam* 23.

41 Qui adigit te ad miliarium unum, abito cum illo duo. ⁴⁹₁₀

42 Quicumque petit abs te, da illi : et quicumque vult mutuari ⁵⁰₅ abs te, ne prohibeas eum.

Cum 10 veritas, *et eum, qui. v. m. abs te, ne prohibeas id* [quod petit], nisi redundet suffixum 1000. Cum Widman. et Schf. verte, *et quicumque mutuetur*.

43 Audistis quod dictum est, Diligas proximum tuum, et odio ⁵¹₁₀ habeas inimicum tuum :

Vel *ames*. Apud Vers. Heracl. (Jo. xx. 15-17) *يسم* valet *amare, اسم diligere*.

44 Ego autem dico vobis, Diligite inimicos vestros, et bene pre-⁵²
camini ei qui maledicit vobis, et facite quod bonum est ei qui odit⁵
vos, et orate pro illis qui ducunt vos violenter, et persequuntur vos.

[N.B. Agnoscunt codd. Peshitt. omnes omnia quae Editores (*Re-
vision Revised* (Burgon), 410-1) e textu Graeco eiecerunt.]

45 Ut sitis filii Patris vestri qui est in coelis, qui oriri facit⁵³
solem suum super bonos et super malos, et demittit pluviam suam⁵
super iustos et super iniustos.

46 Si enim diligatis eos qui diligunt vos, quod praemium est⁵⁴
vobis? nonne etiam publicani id ipsum faciunt?⁵

Notam interrogationis saepe negligunt codd. Significationis
nihil refert.

47 Et si salutetis fratres vestros tantum, quid eximii facitis?
nonne etiam publicani id ipsum faciunt?

48 Estote igitur vos perfecti, sicut Pater vester qui est in coelis⁵⁵
perfectus est.⁵

Praefigit 2 Rubricam, LECTIO DIEI QUARTI HEBDOMADIS
PRIMAE IEIUNII.

theologian. On account of the simplicity of the construc-
tions, and the separation of the words in even the most
ancient writing, the meaning of a sentence is seldom doubtful,
and its relation to the Greek archetype is almost always as
certain as if the text were furnished with the whole array of
later vowels and accents. And of course these also are neither
arbitrary, nor merely the expression of a late pronunciation.
The Massorah, which both supports, and in places corrects,
the vowel system employed by editors from the days of
Widmanstadt, embodies the traditions of the schools of the
seventh and earlier centuries, as we have already shown; nor






is there any reason to suppose that the pronunciation which prevailed when it was fixed by vowel points, differed to any great extent from that of earlier times. So much, at least, may be affirmed without prejudging questions to which we shall advert later¹.

2. The correct pronunciation (with aspiration, or without it) of the *Begadkephath* letters, was considered of great importance by the Syriac Massoretes, although they frequently omitted the *Rukaka* and *Qushaya*, when the form was well known, and no mistake could arise. In the MSS. of the Western School these indications were given by very distinct red dots. We have employed in the text printed in this essay a fine dot, similar to that found in the Nestorian MS., *Add.* 12,138², and have set it further to the right than it would actually appear in the MS., the better to distinguish it from the *vowel* and *diacritical* points³.

3. The reader will see indicated on the margin of our specimen several of the shorter or so-called *Ammonian* Sections, with the reference to their proper Canons. The division of the Gospels into larger sections (of which there are in *Matt.* 22, in *Mark* 13, in *Luke* 23, in *John* 20) is also so frequent as to form a feature of ancient Peshitto MSS. They are often enumerated on a double system,—singly for each Evangelist, consecutively from I to LXXVIII throughout the four

¹ See p. 91, and notes, below.

² Of this MS. an excellent facsimile will be found in *Cat. Syr. MSS. Brit. Mus.*, Pt. iii. Plate XIII. Of the Jacobite Vatican Massora Wiseman gives a facsimile in *Horae Syriacae*, which he says was 'summa cura delineatum'—p. 181.

³ Modern editors have for the most part neglected the *Rukaka* and *Qushaya*. An exception is that most carefully-edited book, Bernstein's *Das Heilige Evangelium des Johannes in Harklensischer Uebersetzung*, 1853. These points are marked in the same author's *Lexicon Chrestomathiae Kirschianae aocommodatum*, and are well treated by Nestle in the course of his *Syriac Grammar* (tr. Kennedy)—indeed the materials are sufficient for a future edition of the Peshitto, and perhaps of some other works. There are a few doubtful cases, especially in words of foreign derivation, as, e.g. , which in Ferrarius (*Nom. Syr.*) and Bernstein (*Lexicon*) is , but in Bernstein's *St. John* (Vorbericht xv) is ; also in assimilation of letters—cf. *Duval* sec. 111 and n. On  and , see Nöldeke, p. 84.

Gospels. The Pauline Epistles were also divided into fifty-five *Sectiones Majores*, and the *Acts* (to which the three Catholic Epistles were constantly appended, and the four documents treated as one book) into thirty-two sections.

4. The specimen shows that Rubrics *a prima manu* are found in some MSS. The practice of the scribes was very arbitrary, except in those few codices which are rubricated throughout the text. In many MSS. rubrics, and other divisions, on more than one system, are added on the margin by different later hands. Besides the formal sections, the text is often interrupted in the best MSS., where the sense requires a break; and these paragraphs are often made with much judgment¹.

5. In all Syriac MSS., even our most ancient codices, the words are invariably written separately, and not continuously as in the old Hebrew, Greek, and Latin codices and inscriptions. With this arrangement, and the simplicity of the Syriac constructions, a complicated system of interpunction is unnecessary. In the oldest copies a short sentence is terminated by [·], subsidiary to which is [∴]. Occasionally in some MSS. [·] over or under the last letter is used, like a Hebrew disjunctive accent, and is less than a comma². The shorter (Ammonian) section is terminated by [✦] often in red:

¹ Other less common and more modern divisions are mentioned in *Brit. Mus. Cat. Syr. MSS.* i. pp. 49 col. b, 54 col. b, 56 col. b, 78 col. b, etc. The divisions in Widmanstadt are nearly equivalent to those in *Cod. Crawford. II.* The Nestorian Mammoretic MS., fol. 303 b, reckons 165 ܬܡܢܝܐ (Sections) in the New Testament, which corresponds to the *Gospels* 78, *Paul* 55, *Acts* and *Cath. Epp.* 32, mentioned above.

² Dr. I. H. Hall, *American Journal of Society of Biblical Literature*, 1882, p. 9, thinks that in the Beirût codex of N. T. (Gospels *Heracleian*, rest *Peshitto*) the double dot frequently only follows the slope of the final letter, and is (·) or (◌) or (◌) without difference of meaning: also that the single dot often does duty for the double, its companion having been absorbed in the preceding letter, or omitted. His codex was described by Dr. Ceriani as *ninth century Jacobite*. Whether the Professor's explanation be generally true or not, certainly this style of punctuation prevailed in all early Peshitto MSS. with which I am acquainted (see facsimile of *Cod. Vatic.*, A.D. 548, *Stud. Bib.* ii). Sometimes also a dot seems to be employed as an accent, but not regularly or consistently. While the consonantal text was accurately reproduced, a degree of license was allowed in points and paragraphs.

etc.; (23) the unelided *ae* of *Sch. & W.*, v. 35. To these must be added (11), if it be allowed that after the termination *ae*— the *l* of the pronoun (which is very often written in the oldest MSS.) was pronounced with *r* (as *Schaaf*), and not elided¹.

4. *Differences of text*² (24) the omission of *ae*=*quicumque*, v. 32; (25) the singular for the plural, v. 33; (26) *ae*=*et* *oral. rect.* added, v. 34; (27) *ae*=*unum* omitted, v. 36; (28) *ae* or *ae* *o*, also or *and also*, v. 40; (29) in v. 42, the reading of Cod. 10, which if not a *conflation*, or a *redundancy*, would give the variation *eum ne id* [quod petit] *prohibeas* for *ne prohibeas eum*; (30) the omission of *ae*=*vult*, v. 42; (31) the addition of *ae*=*antiquis*, v. 43. If (4) does not belong to class 1, it must be added here because the *ae*, though inexpressible in English, more distinctly marks the objective case.

To sum up:—In 18 verses we may count 31 distinct variations by noting every minute difference of letter or of point³; but of these 31, only 9 (the sum total of all which can possibly be gathered into class 4) affect even remotely the sense or grammar of the Syriac. Of these 9 (26) and if it belongs here (4) have no relation to the Greek archetype, for the *ae* of (26), and the *ae* of (4), are used quite arbitrarily in Syriac. Of the remaining 7, (25) (27) (28) (29) (30) for lack of support cannot be treated as *Various Readings properly so called*⁴. (31)

¹ On the pronunciation of the pronoun in combination with the participle see Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, §§ 42, 43, and *Mandäische Grammatik*, § 175 a; Duval, § 183; Nestle, § 19 a. On the union of prepositions with initial *l*, see Nestle, § 17 b, and examples in our specimen of Massorah.

² The distinction between the instances which belong to classes 3 and 4 is real, though in some cases minute. In a language like Syriac the letters might be pronounced differently—i. e. written with different vowel-marks—and yet the same meaning conveyed. If a different pronunciation denotes a different meaning, or grammatical form, the word will belong to class 4, but this does not seem to be the case with any of the instances given above in class 3.

³ We confine ourselves to variations which actually occur in our MSS. and editions based on MSS., without regarding Grammars and Lexicons. A different calculation might alter the sum, but would not touch our argument.

⁴ Many (so-called) *Various Readings* are mere errors and impossible forms. It is the duty of the collator to record every such variation which he finds, however minute, however apparently trivial. It is well that they should be exhibited in the larger critical editions; the student is then placed in the

must be rejected for the same reason ; but we shall see further on that it is interesting from another point of view. Thus out of the 31, only *one* (24) can claim recognition as a true variant. The alternatives seem to be related to the differences in the Greek copies, and to have arisen from the attempt to conform certain MSS. to a recognized Greek text.

The result which we have arrived at is striking and significant. We find hardly a trace of 'the several successive revisions' to which it is supposed the Syriac vernacular New Testament was subjected ; rather does it present itself in our copies in a perfected and matured condition. If the 'revisions' ever really took place, time has swept away nearly all the chips and shavings of the work.

Our passage occurs in the Curetonian : it will be convenient to print it separately as follows¹ :—

ST. MATTHEW V. 31-48

according to the Curetonian ; the parts in which it is identical with the Peshitto being printed in Maronite type, those in which it differs from the Peshitto in Estrangela.

same position as the editor ; he can judge of the character of the documents for himself, and see on what plan the revised text has been constructed. But the larger part by far of these variants are mistakes of scribes (*Variae Lectiones* [C. G. Cobet, 1873], *Praef.* xxvii-lx). If the question be approached with common sense, and not under the influence of some theory of textual criticism, it is impossible to imagine that such palpable faults can have been found in the archetype, after the copy had been made ready for publication, or for transmission as a letter (Scrivener, *op. cit.*, p. 565). But (2) the case is different where not *one* or *two* copies, but a majority of witnesses, credible for weight and number and representatives of widespread tradition, conspire to attest a reading, which is *a priori* improbable. That reading must be received into the text, and all others may be rejected. But (3) there are also cases where the evidence is conflicting, and where witnesses, both numerous and respectable, support different, but possible, readings. In such cases, although one reading may be finally adopted, the others deserve to be remembered, and these are 'Various Readings properly so called.'

¹ From Dr. Cureton's edition : we have not been able to examine the MS.

In this passage there are at least 28 variations from the Peshitto in its best form: if account be taken of single

* **فعل** and **حضر** Cureton (I know not why) enclosed in [].

words rather than of the context, the number of changes will be greater. Of these only *four*, in vv. 33, 34, 35, 43 (and the last alone is a reading of any interest) find direct support in any old Peshitto MS. We do not approach much nearer to the Curetonian by adopting the readings of the MSS. written the nearest to the date of *Add.* 14,451. An exception is at v. 42, where the Curetonian agrees with the oldest Peshitto MSS. against the text of Widmanstadt.

The resemblances between the Curetonian and the Peshitto have been fully noticed by other writers, chiefly in order to establish the descent of the latter from the former¹. Isolated passages may be adduced in evidence of greater or less similarity. The problem is to account for the many divergences. Whatever be the relative dates of the two Versions, the above passage is alone sufficient to exhibit the width of the gulf which lies between them².

VI.

The late Philip Pusey used to say³ that there were distinct traces of a revision of the Peshitto made about the time when

¹ Although Dr. Scrivener does not hold this view, yet his specimens (*Plain Introduction*, pp. 335-7, ed. 1883) perhaps suggest more of resemblance between the Peshitto and the Curetonian than is, on the whole, the case. On the other hand the differences in our specimens somewhat exceed the average number.

² See the lucid summary of the controversy given by the scholarly author (E. Miller) of *A Guide to Textual Criticism of the N. T.*, p. 74 n. Objection has justly been taken on palaeographical grounds to the Abbé Martin's date for *Add.* 14,451. There is good reason to believe that the date usually assigned to this MS. is substantially correct. It was therefore written before *Codex Bezae*, but, since no one supposes that this type of Greek text came into existence with the codex which now exhibits it, the Abbé's main contention that *Add.* 14,451 was assimilated to the cod. D type, is not disproved by a difference of opinion as to the time when *Add.* 14,451 was written.

³ Suddenly called from the theological studies which had been the solace of a life of weakness and suffering, he left no written record of any matured plan for the revision of the Peshitto. He had made an important collection of various readings, with some notes and observations on the peculiarities of the copies which he had examined. I have also a distinct recollection of more than one conversation, in the course of which I learned what were his opinions about the extant text of the Peshitto, and what were his plans for the revised edition

Add. 14,448 (p. 53, above) was written, but that such revision extended only to the grammatical forms. This was his conclusion as the result of much study of Peshitto New Testament MSS. How careful he was in his collations, his note-books and papers will show! And his judgment on the nature of the revision I most emphatically confirm. The MSS. of the Eastern School, of which the one above named is a valuable and early specimen, began to assume their distinctive form during the seventh century. With this type of text agrees that which is extant in such a distinctively late Jacobite MS. as the *Crawford II* (p. 54, above), and the Jacobite and Maronite copies from which the *editio princeps* of Widmanstadt was printed¹. The text was slightly modernized²

which he had long contemplated. It will be to me most gratifying if I am able to rescue from oblivion, and offer for the use of the Church, some of the results of the labours of one whose piety and singleness of purpose made him very dear to his friends.

¹ See *Studia Biblica*, ii. pp. 267-9.

² My learned friend the Rev. Richard Hooper, Rector of Upton, Berks, whose readiness to make others partakers of his abundant erudition is known to all who have the privilege of his acquaintance, has called my attention to an illustrative passage in Winterton's *Poetae Minores Graeci*. In the *Annotations*, commenting on the *var. lect.* Δ' for δ' in *Hes. 'Epy.* i. 2, he refers to the *Nov. Test. ed. Aldin.* (taken from the first edition of Erasmus), which he says he had thought was an edition *omnium longe corruptissimam*, but further study had convinced him that nearly all the errors were due to differences in pronunciation; and he tells in confirmation a story of the mistakes which occurred in an attempted conversation between himself and a modern Greek. Whether *varr. lectt.* in Greek MSS. and early prints arose thus, or not, certainly Peshitto MSS. did not suffer from the disadvantage of being copied by scribes to whom Syriac was a foreign tongue. Still not a few variations which resemble some of those quoted above may be referred to the different pronunciations of different districts. The marvel is that they are not more numerous. Even a book like the English *Authorized Version*, printed with precautions which are popularly supposed to preserve it immaculate, exhibits to-day many variations from the *editio princeps*. In comparing our passage above Matt. v. 27 f., and on to vi. 23, as it is printed in an ordinary Bible, with the reproduction of the Authorized Version of 1611, published by the Clarendon Press in 1833, I find the following differences at least:—v. 30 from thee: for] from thee. For; 33 thyself] Thy self; 35 Hierusalem; 47 do ye] do you; vi. 1 doest *thine*] doest thine; 10 *it is*] it is (and yet italics occur in places in the old edition); 19 and 20 thorow. In v. 29 old edition has *eis*, but in vi. 22 *eye*. There are also many variations of spelling such as *adulteris*, *othes*, etc.

by the adoption of such modifications in form and spelling as those which are collected in classes 2 and 3 out of our specimen given above. During this period those differences of pronunciation were noted and fixed which are recorded in the Massoretic works of East and West. Individual possessors of particular codices, as in the case of Cod. 8¹, corrected their copies to some slight extent in accordance with what was deemed the better type in their own neighbourhood². Thus arose the few variants which are found, and such as have been noted in our specimen. But it should be carefully observed that these are not exclusively, or even commonly, adaptations to the Greek as we know it. In the specimen there are eight differences which deserve the name of *various readings*. All of these may in theory represent readings of ancient Greek codices; but if we confine our observations to existing facts, only in the one place of v. 32 do we discover an evident conformation of some Syriac codices to a particular Greek text³. The relations between Cod. 7 in v. 36, and Cod. 10 in v. 42, and certain ancient variants, are very doubtful. In v. 43 Cod. 25 appears to have altered to the *Curetonian*. But these phenomena are precisely those we expect to encounter; what excites surprise is that they occur so seldom. And this is the more remarkable when we

A detailed examination has been made by Dr. Scrivener in *The English Bible of 1611 and its Reprints* (cf. *Text of the English Bible considered*, J. Turton, 1833). Still after taking account of every difference it would be a misrepresentation to say that the English Bible has been *modernized*; and just as few alterations, in fact fewer, crept into the Peshitto during centuries of transcription.

¹ Page 72, above.

² A remarkable instance is the *Cod. Add. 14,456 Brit. Mus. Cat. i. pp. 55-57*, an eighth century *Tetraevangelium*, which abounds in marginal readings from the *Heracleian* and elsewhere, with Massoretic notes, and even actual alterations of the text. But this is an exceptional case, and by its singularity proves the general unwillingness of the Syrians to permit alterations in their Bibles. The *Curetonian* has also been altered; but then there is no evidence that that MS. was at any time considered to be a representative of a legitimate text.

³ Another case is that of the 'Cologne MS.,' now Cod. 1198 in *Cat. Codd. Orient. Bib. Acam. Lugduno-Batavae* (de Goeje), v. pp. 64-67; see also *Stud. Bib. ii. p. 267*.

remember the prevalence of the Philoxeno-Heracleian, and its influence as shown by the frequent entry of its readings on the margins of Peshitto Codices¹. The ancient Syrians were not unacquainted with other forms of text; that they 'systematically revised' their ancient version in accordance with one or more of such forms has yet to be proved; and the proof cannot be educed by cross-examination of the oldest witnesses to the Peshitto.

It may be said that Cureton's Syriac is related to the Peshitto in the same way that the latter is to the Philoxeno-Heracleian revision. This is certainly not true of the Curetonian in its present form. If, for example, we collate the Peshitto and Curetonian, in the specimen passage already given, we find that in many verses the language is so divergent that comparison is impracticable. If we turn to other passages we discover that often the peculiarities of the Curetonian bear a greater resemblance to the later than to the earlier Peshitto readings. The present, however, is not the occasion for setting out this argument at length². It is freely admitted that in investigations of this nature conclusions are provisional. Our opinion of the antiquity of the Peshitto would of course be modified by the discovery of other documents, and clear

¹ It has been justly remarked (*Stud. Bib.* ii., note by W. S., p. 272) that [the criticism of the ancients] 'is not of such a kind that we can accept their verdicts without revision.' It is precisely because textual criticism was not exercised in the scriptorium that the Syriac exemplar is so valuable to the modern critic. We take our stand on the position already assumed (p. 66) that ancient codices represent texts older than their vellum leaves, and if we cannot obtain a pure text of the ancient Syriac Version through its oldest MSS., we may despair of textual criticism altogether. Yet, in spite of the lack of full and ancient diplomatic evidence (cf. Cobet, *op. cit.*, *Pref.* xxiv), the extant words of an Æschylus or a Tacitus are accepted as in the main authentic.

² I have indicated the lines on which this investigation should be pursued in *Studia Biblica*, i. pp. 170-2. The collation of the Curetonian text with the (perhaps) oldest extant Peshitto text and with the late type in Widmanstadt yields results which some, including Dr. Cureton himself (*Preface*, lxx-lxxiii), would hardly have anticipated. The reader will easily correct a few obvious errata in the Syriac in the essay referred to: they do not affect the argument.

evidence of the type of text which was current before St. Ephraim's days. Meanwhile, if we are to borrow terms from the West, the Heracleian, and not the Peshitto, is the 'Syriac Vulgate,' the Peshitto is the 'Old Syriac,' and not the Curetonian in its present form. An *Ur-Peshitto* may once have existed, and perhaps it provided the *Evangelia* out of which Tatian constructed his *Harmony*; but its ancient text still waits for the patient investigator or the lucky discoverer. For the present we must content ourselves with those MSS. in which the Peshitto is so singularly rich, not only in the number of the copies, but also in their intrinsic value, their great antiquity, and the independence of their testimony. Meanwhile, it is certainly premature to treat Cureton's MS. as the basis of the Peshitto, and to quote it habitually as 'the Old Syriac¹.' That term might fitly be applied to so much of the text of the Curetonian as could be shown to be older than the Peshitto text; but to apply it without reserve to the text of *Add.* 14,451 is to beg the question².

VII.

In applying the materials of our *apparatus criticus*, it will be found that a not inconsiderable number of corrections of Widmanstadt's text may be made without hesitation upon

¹ 'In [the Curetonian codex] the national version is preserved approximately in its Old, or unrevised state. *Westcott and Hort*, p. 136. But Bickell says: —'Neque tamen et in ipso textu Curetoniano desunt lectiones sequiores, textu recepto [i. e. the Peshitto] interdum originales tuente;' *Conspect. Rei Syrr. Lit.* p. 8.

² Lachmann (*Nov. Test. Gr. et Lat.* 1832, i. p. xxiv) said: —'Nobis autem quid prodesset Syrorum linguam didicisse, antiquissimis et fide dignis veteris interpretationis codicibus nondum, ad eum modum quo nos Latinos distinximus, segregatis et in lucem protractis?' The pages of the editions will show how far editors have been of the same mind with Lachmann, how far also they have attempted to distinguish between earlier and later readings. And, unless the latter consideration be kept in view, students who depend on Baethgen's interesting and useful *Evangelienfragmente* may be led to erroneous conclusions.

the unanimous verdict of the ancient authorities¹. In many other cases the choice will lie between the readings of the two great classes of Syriac Biblical codices². Here, for the reasons stated on p. 72 above, we give the preference to the (so-called) Jacobite reading. But each case must be judged on its own merits³.

The vocalisation of the consonants presents a more difficult problem⁴. We know from the Massorah what vowel-points and aspirations were in use amongst the Jacobites, and amongst the Nestorians, nine hundred years ago, but it is not certain that either of these dialects exactly represents the pronunciation of at least six centuries earlier⁵, and of the district in which the Peshitto had its birth⁶. But, as a practical question, the editor must choose either the Eastern or the Western systems. To go behind these is impossible until further information has been obtained. An eclectic system of vocalization would be arbitrary and unreasonable⁷.

¹ For example in our specimen passage (pp. 74-8) we restore ܩܝܘܠܬܐ = qui vult in v. 42 on the authority of the ancient codices, and adopt the older forms ܩܝܠܬܐ v. 32, ܩܝܠܬܐ v. 36, ܩܝܠܬܐ v. 47.

² Instances of differences between the two classes have been given on pp. 68-71.

³ A remarkable instance is found in Mark xvi. 14, where Widmanstadt has ܩܝܠܬܐ = τοὺς ἐδίδεκα, but the MSS. ܩܝܠܬܐ = τοὺς ἑνδεκα, and there is no variation in the Greek. On the principle of obedience to ancient MS. evidence we should read ܩܝܠܬܐ, but on that of the *durior lectio* ܩܝܠܬܐ, for no scribe who knew the gospel history would purposely alter *eleven* to *twelve* after the suicide of Judas; but the change of *twelve* to *eleven* is conceivable of men who were such careful harmonists as the Syrians.—See *Stud. Bib.* ii. p. 263.

⁴ See Wichelhaus, *op. cit.*, pp. 233-5.

⁵ Assemani (*Bib. Orient.* iii. 2. pp. 377 seq.), referring to words of Bar Hebraeus in his *Chronicon Syriacum*, contends that the Eastern pronunciation represents an older and purer form. He remarks that place names are of Eastern vocalization, and so pronounced in the West also.

The Nestorian Massorah is certainly much more elaborated than the Jacobite, and their vowel system fuller and more complete, approaching nearer to the perfection of the Jewish orthography.

⁶ Perhaps, however, the difference between the *Sermo Edessenus* and the *Sermo Nestorianus* (Bar Heb. *Gram.*, ed. Bertheau) was rather of pronunciation than of dialect. See the editor's *Annotations*, pp. 91-7.

⁷ The signs of the sounds were sometimes interchanged and used in com-

And the question, although full of interest to the grammarian, is of minor importance to the theologian; for the value of the Peshitto to exegesis, and as part of our *apparatus criticus* of the New Testament, depends on the consonants, and on the grammar as determined by the diacritical points, and is rarely, if ever, affected by the particular vowels employed by the Eastern and Western Schools and their respective pronunciations¹.

bination, as in the *Editio Widmanstadiana*—from the MS., of course. The *Preface* to Bar Ali's *Lexicon*, edited from the Gotha MS. (A.D. 1577) by G. Hoffmann (*Syrisch-Arabische Glossen*, Bd. I, 1874), shows a similar mixture, sometimes a duplication, of signs, with occasional confusion (cf. Duval, *Gr.* p. 77) of the vowels themselves. The mixed system was noticed by Wright, *Cat. B. M. Pref* p. xxxi.

¹ Of even less importance in Peshitto criticism are varieties of dialect which do not come within the range of the two chief branches of Syriac. Remains of these have been collected from the native Glossaries by Larsow, *De Dialectorum Ling. Syr. Reliquiis*. For supposed survivals of the (so-called) *Palestinian* dialect see J. Ferret in *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, 1863, and Nöldeke in *Zeit. d. Morgen. Gesellsch.*, xxi, 1867.

[illegible]

[illegible]

II.

JACOBITE RECENSION, FROM COD. MUS. BRIT. ADD. 7183.

[illegible]

The preceding specimens¹ are exhibited with as near an approach to facsimile as can be obtained in this way. By the use of print instead of photography, the Nestorian specimen has been set out in a style more convenient for the student², although no marks have been omitted or changed. Every word in it which also occurs in the shorter Jacobite recension is numbered for reference. As far as possible the position and slope of dots and lines has been retained, but in a few places of the Jacobite specimen, the printer found it necessary to reverse the situation of the vowel mark. The Maronite type does not, of course, bear much resemblance either to the Nestorian Estrangela of *Add.* 12,138, or to the later and Jacobite hand of *Add.* 7183; but ordinary Estrangela would hardly have afforded a better representation, and would have required an inconvenient amount of space. The latter consideration was also a serious objection to the use of facsimile plates.

In the Nestorian MS. the points of *Rukaka* and *Qushaya* are expressed by fine dots, in the Jacobite by red dots of larger size. In the specimens these points are represented by very fine dots, set somewhat to the right of the *begadkephath* letter. The medial pronunciation of *ə* in the Jacobite Massorah is represented, as in the MS., by a point within the letter—e.g. word 38, *ܐܠܗܐ*. The vowel mark ' has been discarded, as having no place in the MS., and ' , ' , separately, or the diphthong ' , are used, exactly as in the original: in word 17 will be found another diphthong ' . The Nestorian scribe used red for his reference marks, represented in print by ' , and the same colour for the marks + +, p. 93, bot., for the o o, and ! !, p. 94, top, and for some of the enclosures of the glosses. Occasionally in the text a red dot, printed °, is found in place of a black. From a *Note*

¹ Professor Nöldeke, the eminent Orientalist of Strasburg, has corresponded with my colleague, Dr. Bezold, about these specimens, and has favoured us with some valuable notes and suggestions, which I now acknowledge, with hearty thanks. Some of these are combined with my own remarks on the Massoretic text; some are quoted in full below.

² Besides the difficulties which the characters present to the reader who is not familiar with MSS. of various epochs, the lines are sometimes so close together that the dots under one word are almost confused with those above the word below.

appended to the codex itself, it appears that by colour, as well as by underlining or overlining the dots, a distinction was made between the vowels and accents of different critics. Yet as word 13 is marked with a black dot, and the same word four lines above with a red; the second word of l. 9 with °, but word 51 with °; it would seem that in some cases the choice of colour and form for marks was somewhat arbitrary. The red dot on ٢, third word, last line but two, p. 94, may indicate a *varia lectio* in the passage, for the ٢ is omitted in some Peshitto MSS.

Many words or syllables are without any vowel marks, and many *begadkephath* letters without their *Rukaka* or *Qushaya*. These are cases where they would be easily understood by the reader. To many words, in addition to the vowels, diacritical and accentual dots are affixed. The purpose of some of these marks is not always obvious, and the work of the scribe is not entirely free from errors. On p. 93, last line but two, ١٢١ is written without the diacritical point on ١; on p. 94, l. 4, ١٢١ stands for ١٢١, the context being ١٢١ . ١٢١; and there are other cases of inconsistency or carelessness; but the correction of these, and the full explanation of the different kinds of dots¹, must be reserved for a critical edition of the Massorah.

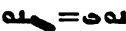

Linea occultans does not occur; the — is *Mehagyana*; ˘ is *Marhetana*, and is sometimes virtually a *linea occultans*, as in words 59, 60, to be pronounced together as *b'hellan*. At the end of a word this mark is a kind of *Nagoda*, slurring the last syllable of the preceding word to the first of the following.





We do not add here, as before, translations of the Syriac, because the Massoretic text is hardly of interest, except to the Syriac reader. For example, the first three lines only represent as much as follows of the text of Schaaf:—et tumultuati sine causa—et consolatus est eos, ac osculatus est eos—et quum circumcisset regiones illas—venit in Graeciam regionem—et egressi sunt cum eo usque in Asiam, etc., the whole of v. 3 being omitted. At cap. xx. 28 (p. 94, l. 6) the words are given—et toti gregi, in quem constituit vos Spiritus Sanctus episcopos—









¹ Many of the accentual marks in MSS. of the Peshitto are liturgical in origin. 'The "Singsang" in the Syriac churches is of no more value to the linguist than is that of the Synagogues.'—Nöldeke.


then there is a gap to v. 31. This is a decisive instance of the real value of the Massoretic text. While replete with information about vowels and accents, it may often be a blank in places where evidence is sought about an important reading.




The Glosses and other Marginal Notes.

P. 93, right hand.  = , i. e. *elide*, the letters ܐ and ܝ—referring to word 5, and the next word. So below, and on next page, 'elide ܐ'; word 84, 'elide ܐ'.

P. 93, left hand. The first gloss refers to , and indicates that the initial ܠ is mute, so that the word is to be read *lâs'yâ*, not *l'âs'yâ*. Therefore it does not follow the ordinary rule of Nestorian pronunciation of forms with initial ܠ and prefixed preposition, such as  (word 43) = *l'elphâ*, but in the Jacobite Recension  = *lelphâ*—cf. p. 83, n. 1. Both here and below (word 13) the *mehagyana* indicates the prolonged pronunciation *Âs'yâ*, or *Âsiyâ*, not *Âsyâ*; while the (.) under the final ܐ (cf. , l. 10) is perhaps a kind of *mappiq*, to ensure a full pronunciation of the last letter.

 appears not to be an abbreviation, in spite of the . after it (cf. , and, p. 94, ) , but the *imper. Aph.* of —'take up,' 'prolong,' the ܐ, and pronounce *Gâios*; compare the vocalization in the Jacobite recension. The opposite is noted below with reference to word 26—do not prolong the , as the Jacobites who say , but pronounce *Batroghlion*. 'The Jacobite has  against the rule, for *y* is regularly  soft.'—Nöldeke.

In the second word of line 9. ܐ is to be read like ܠ, *Mâqedhônâ'ê*. 'In such cases the Nestorians often write , with ܠ, often in red, over the ܐ.'—N.

P. 94, right hand. The first gloss is almost illegible. It looks like , and undoubtedly refers to the word . Perhaps  is an abbreviation for some accent. The initial *a* ought by rule to be *s*, and perhaps the scribe desired to call attention to this reading in his copy, but did not wish to correct it—another illustration of that textual conser-

THE NUMBERING OF THE MSS. OF THE
APPARATUS CRITICUS.

My collaborator, P. E. Pusey, was accustomed to distinguish the MSS. which he collated by letters, and some notes which he left suggest that he intended to arrange a series in order of merit, employing the Greek and English alphabets in combination. But the plan is not clearly defined, and such a series would necessarily be temporary, and would depend on individual opinion of the value of codices and their relations to one another. It has seemed to me therefore that it would be better to adopt a simple arithmetical order, which involves no assumptions, and will allow of indefinite expansion without requiring the alteration of any symbol already in use. I have retained the numbers which I had already given to the MSS. I have collated. They do not indicate any precedence in value or antiquity, but were assigned as each codex in succession chanced to come under examination. The next set are the MSS. collated by my departed friend, numbered in the order in which he had lettered them. The remaining numbers indicate other MSS. which I have used through the help of different collators, and which in some cases are quoted on the authority of printed books. I have made a further selection of readings from some of P. E. Pusey's MSS., and have to acknowledge assistance in my own work¹; but without going into particulars, the responsibility may be apportioned as follows :—

1-12 are the MSS. collated by G. H. Gwilliam.

13-35 are P. E. Pusey's MSS., the readings of which are quoted on his authority. About half of these MSS. he had collated thoroughly, the remainder in important passages.

¹ See p. 73, n. 2.

36-40 five MSS. for the readings of which we are indebted to other collators.

On a similar plan the Massoretic codices (for the evidence of which Dr. Bezold is responsible) are numbered *Mas.* 1, 2, etc.

Dr. Gwynn, in his edition of the *Antilegomena* (p. 54 n., above) has so numbered his MSS. that his *cod.* 12 is the same as our 12—the only MS. common to his series and ours¹.

¹ Dr. Scrivener (*Introduction*, ch. ii. sec. 1) has pointed out how defective and misleading is the notation of Greek New Testament MSS., but the attempt to amend the system would now be attended with still greater inconveniences, and therefore it is much to be regretted that in *Proleg. in Nov. Test. Tischend.* (iii. pp. 792-800) Dr. Gregory has assigned to the Cursives other numerals than those by which they have been known for many years to all textual critics.

I venture to express the hope that in Syriac Biblical criticism the simple system which I have adopted may be followed. Thus in the New Testament we might have *Pesh.* 1, 2, 3, etc.; Dr. Gwynn's MSS. might be known as *Antileg.* 1, 2, 3, etc.; in the edition of the Revised Syriac, for which we have been waiting many years, we should have *Harkl.* 1, 2, 3, etc.; and if hereafter other MSS. should be found to contain a text like that of *Add.* 14.451 (*Cureton* 1), they might be called *Cur.* 2, 3, etc. A similar system would be desirable for the Syriac Old Testament.

INDEX OF THOSE SYRIAC CODICES

WHICH ARE QUOTED BY NUMERALS IN THE PRECEDING PAGES.

2 =	Londinensis Additionalis . . .	17,116, saec. vi
5 =	" "	14,464, " vi
7 =	" "	14,460, A. D. 600
8 =	" "	17,114, saec. vi aut vii
10 =	" "	17,115, " vi
11 =	Crawfordianus I . . .	" vi
12 =	" II . . .	" xi aut xii
13 =	Londinensis Additionalis . .	14,454, " vi aut vii
14 =	" "	14,453, " v aut vi
15 =	" "	{ 14,459, } { foll. I-66, } " v
16 =	" "	7,157, A. D. 768
17 =	" "	14,470, saec. v aut vi
18 =	" "	17,117, " v aut vi
20 =	" "	12,137, " vi aut vii
21 =	" "	14,449 " vi aut vii
23 =	" "	17,113, " vi aut vii
24 =	" "	{ 14,461, } { foll. I-107, } " vi
25 =	" "	14,463, " vii
26 =	Florentinus . . .	A. D. 586
32 =	Londinensis Additionalis . .	14,471, " 615
33 =	" "	14,448, " 699 aut 700
36 =	Oxoniensis Dawkinsianus III .	saec. ix
40 =	Vaticanus . . .	A. D. 548

Each of these twenty-three MSS. is here distinguished by the number which will be appropriated to it hereafter in the critical revision of the Peshitto New Testament.

SYNOPSIS.

- I. Diplomatic evidence for the Peshitto text :
 - A. Dated MS. copies, pp. 50-3.
 - B. Undated MSS. of fifth and sixth centuries, and others, pp. 53-5.
 - C. The Urumiah edition of the ancient Nestorian text, pp. 55-6.
- II. The Syriac Massorah :
 1. List of Massoretic MSS., pp. 57-9.
 2. *Versio Karkaphensis*—its origin and its home, pp. 60-3.
 3. The place of the Massorah in Peshitto criticism, pp. 64-5.
- III. Versions from the Syriac, p. 65. Quotations, pp. 65-7.
- IV. The Eastern and Western types of text compared, pp. 68-72.
- V. Various Readings in copies of the Peshitto, their extent and significance, pp. 72-9 and 82-4.
 Points, divisions, punctuation, pp. 78-82.
 The Curetonian, pp. 84-6, and 89-90.
- VI. Revisions of the Peshitto New Testament in the Syrian Church, pp. 86-9.
- VII. Use of existing materials for a critical edition of the Peshitto, pp. 90-2.

IV.

AN EXAMINATION OF
THE NEW TESTAMENT QUOTATIONS
OF EPHREM SYRUS.

[F. H. WOODS.]

THE recent discovery, if we may call it so, of Ephrem's Commentary on the Diatessaron has raised, or reopened, several questions of great importance to the critical student of the Canon and Text of the New Testament. Such are the relations borne by the Syriac writers of the fourth century, Aphraates and Ephrem, (1) to the two Syriac Versions, the Curetonian and the Peshitto, (2) to Tatian's Diatessaron. Of the first, the Curetonian is now generally believed to be a fragment of the original Syriac Version, and the Peshitto merely a later recension of the same, influenced, as has been pointed out, by what are technically called Syrian readings (see Westcott and Hort, *Intr.* 214)¹. Thus while the Curetonian is closely allied to D, the Peshitto presents a mixed text allied on the one side to D, and on the other to A. The text of the Diatessaron can only be imperfectly, and with great uncertainty, reconstructed from the works of those writers who are believed to quote from it. The principal work of this kind is Ephrem's Commentary on the Diatessaron. But unfortunately it is not always easy to distinguish the commentary from the text commented on; moreover, the work is

¹ For the contrary opinion that the Peshitto represents the original Syriac version, and the Curetonian a much later recension, see M. l'Abbé Martin's work, *Introduction à la Critique textuelle*, pp. 104-127 and 166-168.

only preserved in an Armenian Version, and scholars have, for the most part, to depend upon a Latin translation even of that. Further difficulties in determining these questions arise from the fragmentary character of the Curetonian, and the paucity of passages quoted both by Ephrem and Aphraates.

This paper is only a small contribution towards solving the problems in question¹. The accompanying Table gives a collation of the New Testament quotations found in the three Syriac volumes (iv-vi) of the folio edition of Ephrem's works (Rome, 1732-34), and in Bickell's edition of the *Carmina*, with the Peshitto text of Widmanstadt. Only such passages are intentionally omitted which, being of the nature of allusions rather than quotations, are no proof of the text used by Ephrem. The quotations, it is only fair to state, have not been gathered by reading through the Syriac text, but by using the marginal references, or noting the passages printed in italics in the Latin translation, and only enough of the context has been read to make the way in which the passages were quoted perfectly intelligible. As the Latin translation is notoriously inaccurate, and the marginal references are sometimes wrongly given, it is very probable that some quotations have been missed. On the other hand, a few not marked as quotations in that edition have been met with accidentally and added to the list; so that it may be considered complete enough for all practical purposes. I have, besides, collated the quotations, wherever possible, with the Curetonian, Aphraates, and, where they seriously differed from the Peshitto, with the Diatessaron. The readings of the latter are from the Latin translation of Ephrem's Commentary as found in Zahn's *Forschungen*, II. ii. I have not included the quotations of the works of Ephrem preserved only in Greek, and contained in vols. i-iii of the folio

¹ The general conclusions have been already given in an additional note appended to Mr. Gwilliam's paper on 'a Syriac Biblical MS.' in *Studia Biblica*, vol. i. pp. 173, 4. But that note, drawn up from rough notes at a time when the MS. containing the collation of Ephrem's quotations was unfortunately mislaid, hardly does full justice to the deviations from the Peshitto.

edition; because the Greek translator is certain, either consciously or unconsciously, to have been influenced by the Greek text of the New Testament.

It is well to point out that we have to contend in an exaggerated form with the difficulties attaching more or less to all patristic quotations. Ephrem seems very generally to have quoted from memory: he interweaves quotations with his own comments: he combines passages together, especially parallel passages from the Gospels: he even arbitrarily alters words or sentences by way of paraphrase. We have a characteristic example of such a paraphrastic quotation in vol. vi. p. 407 c, d, where the reference is to Luke vii. 44-47. It runs as follows:—‘O Simon, I entered into thine house, said our Lord to the Pharisee, and thou didst not wash (ܠܡܥܝܢ) my feet with water, but she by (ܡܢ) the tears of her eyes washed (ܠܡܥܝܢ) my feet as she wept; and the hair of her head in truth instead of a towel she gave me. Thou didst not anoint me, O Simon, this was [too] troublesome (ܠܚܝܒܐ) for thee,’ etc. etc. Again, in quoting Matt. xxiv. 42 (see Table) he alters ܠܡܥܝܢ to ܠܡܥܝܢ, thus making the passage ‘ye know not at what time death cometh;’ and yet this is prefaced by the words ܠܡܥܝܢ ܠܡܥܝܢ ‘our Lord said to His Disciples.’ Similarly, in John vi. 40, ܠܡܥܝܢ ܠܡܥܝܢ ‘the day of Resurrection’ is substituted for ܠܡܥܝܢ ‘the last day.’ In such cases there is no question of a various reading. That Ephrem thus freely treated the texts he quoted, though obvious enough in itself, is placed beyond all doubt by the fact that he frequently quotes the same passages variously in different places, as e.g. Luke i. 33, which in Ephr. v. 216 A is in perfect agreement with the Peshitto, but in iv. 404 c varies considerably from it. (See also in Table, Matt. iii. 17, xxv. 41, Luke ii. 34, xi. 2, xvii. 21, John xi. 52, 1 Cor. vii. 31, Eph. ii. 14.)

Even a cursory glance at the Table makes it quite evident that Ephrem in the main used the Peshitto text. Roughly speaking, out of 168 quotations from the New Testament,

43 agree exactly with that Version. Though some of them are very short, others are of a considerable length, extending to a verse or more (see Table, Luke i. 73-75, John vii. 38, Acts vii. 52, Rom. viii. 26, 27, 1 Cor. x. 6, Eph. ii. 5, 6), and the number would be nearly doubled if we ignored such slight variations as all quotations are liable to. That some of these exact quotations should be quoted again with variations from the Peshitto really strengthens the argument, because they prove the great freedom which Ephrem allowed himself.

We have now to consider whether the variations in the rest can always be accounted for on the hypothesis of free quotation or paraphrase¹. This is clearly the case even in some passages which differ very considerably from the Peshitto, as in the paraphrase of Matt. xi. 28, 29 in Ephr. vi. 372 B, which runs as follows:—‘Come unto ME, crieth thy love, O ye that labour in vain and are with [lit. in] heavy burdens and wearied with lusts, learn of ME rest, and obtain of ME gentleness. My yoke is easy if ye will, and My burden exceeding light.’ Here it is obvious enough that we have a rhetorical and homiletical expansion of the Peshitto text.

But in other cases the explanation is not so simple. Sometimes the same passages are quoted more than once with the same variations from the Peshitto. The quotations of Rom. v. 20 are a remarkable instance of this. Here we have in a short passage at least five distinct variations from the Peshitto, and the two quotations, be it observed, stand far apart in distinct collections of Sermons. It is not likely therefore that Ephrem inadvertently copied his own quotation in mistake for the original. Now it will be seen that the passage as it stands in Ephrem is certainly as good a translation of the Greek (ἐν ᾧ πάντες ἡμεῖς ἠμαρτανώμεθα) is a more forcible render-

¹ Abbé Martin, pp. 38, 39, 126, accounts for the variations from the Peshitto by maintaining that Ephrem wrote ‘for the most part’ in metre, usually in lines of seven syllables; but if so, it is difficult to explain the long exact quotations from the Peshitto which we sometimes find. Certainly the rules of metre must have been very elastic. It is unfortunate that we are not definitely told which of the commentaries (if not all) have this metrical form.

ing of *ὑπερεπέσσευσεν* than ܠܝܬܠܝܬ), and has not the least appearance of being a paraphrase¹.

We also find several other quotations in Ephrem which have all the appearance of being different translations of the Greek text. These are of two kinds, (a) those where, as probably in Rom. v. 20, the quotation represents merely a different rendering of the same Greek words; (b) where it points to a different reading of the Greek text.

(a) The first cannot always be determined with certainty, especially when the quotations are synonymous with the Peshitto, as the same variants are capable of being explained either as different translations of the Greek, or as arising from careless quotation. But where the word or phrase varying from the Peshitto more exactly represents the Greek, or gives a different explanation of an ambiguous Greek expression, there is a strong presumption that the quotation containing it is from some source independent of the Peshitto. For example, in Ephrem's quotation of Eph. iv. 3 the three striking words of the Peshitto are all replaced by synonyms, of which ܠܠܝܬ at any rate more literally represents the Greek *ἐνότης* than ܠܠܝܬ. In any case it is hardly likely that Ephrem should have forgotten all three expressions, and certainly difficult to see why he should have arbitrarily altered them. In 2 Cor. vii. 2 we apparently get in ܠܠܝܬ (Ephr.), 'receive us,' and ܠܠܝܬ (Pesh.) 'bear with us,' two different renderings of the Greek *χαρῆσθε ἡμᾶς*. Though the two Syriac words resemble each other in look, a false reading in either case is extremely improbable, as no variant is actually found in any MS. of the Peshitto, and the expression of Ephrem is an ancient interpretation of the Greek word found in the Vulgate and other early authorities. Indeed the two renderings correspond very nearly to those of the Authorized Version and the Revised Version of our English Bible. The quotation

¹ We have other but less striking examples of passages quoted more than once in more or less agreement against the Peshitto in Matt. vii. 7 (Luke xi. 9 b) and Eph. ii. 14 (see Table).

of Eph. iii. 19 is particularly interesting. Here Widmanstadt and other editions of the Peshitto have, in accordance with the best MSS. of that version, instead of the forcible words *τὴν ὑπερβάλλουσαν τῆς γνώσεως*, the very tame expression ܠܥܕܬ ܠܥܡܐ, 'the greatness of love.' The reading of the Cologne MS. is ܠܥܡܐ ܠܥܕܬܐ ܠܥܕܬܐ, which is probably one of those late adaptations to the Greek, which are characteristic of this MS.¹ On the other hand, Ephrem has, what is clearly another and more exact rendering of the Greek phrase, ܠܥܕܬܐ ܡܥ ܦܕܝܬܐ. The first word is evidently intended to bring out the force of *ὑπέρ*, and the expression is free from the constructional ambiguity of the reading of the Peshitto MSS.

(δ) We have several cases in which the quotations in Ephrem seem to point to a different reading of the Greek text from that attested by the Peshitto. Thus in the quotation of Luke ii. 52, Ephrem supports *σοφία καὶ ἡλικία*, the ordinary and by far the best attested reading; whereas *ἡλικία καὶ σοφία* is that of both the Peshitto and the Curetonian, as well as of a few Western authorities. Ephrem's quotation of 2 Cor. v. 21 has ܡܕܥܡܐ = *ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν*. This is found in all (?) extant Greek MSS.; but the Peshitto supports the variant *ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν*. Similarly in his quotation of Gal. v. 22 Ephrem supports the singular *καρπός*, whereas the Peshitto has ܠܡܕܐ = *καρποί* (see note in Table). In Ephrem iv. 511 B, we have in the sentence, 'Now Christ was crucified without the gate of Jerusalem,' what appears to be an allusion to *ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἔπαθε*, in Heb. xiii. 12. It is true that in Ephrem the Old Testament parallel to Christ is not, as in Hebrews, the victim sacrificed outside the camp, but the innocent Naboth, who was taken out of the city and stoned. But the stress of the argument in both cases lies on the word 'outside,' and there is no other passage in the New Testament in which any special importance is attached to

¹ I am indebted to the Rev. G. H. Gwilliam, Fellow of Hertford College, for kindly supplying me with this and other useful information, especially about the Syriac MSS. of the Peshitto. I have attached the initials G. H. G. in the Table to statements made upon his authority. I gladly avail myself of this opportunity of acknowledging my obligations.

the fact that Christ's crucifixion took place outside Jerusalem. Now the Peshitto of Hebrews has not 'outside the gate,' but ܠܚܝܫ ܥܝܪܐ 'outside the city.' As a matter of fact the form of the expression in the Peshitto would have better suited the parallel which Ephrem is drawing, because it comes more nearly to that in 1 Kings xxi. 13, in which Naboth is said to have been taken ܠܚܝܫ ܥܝܪܐ 'outside the city,' which is synonymous with ܠܚܝܫ ܥܝܪܐ of Hebrews. It would not be wise to lay too much stress upon what might, after all, be only a coincidence; but taken with the other examples it is certainly significant.

We have possibly two other examples of the same kind in the quotations from Luke i. 75 and Acts v. 41. But in the first the addition of the word corresponding to *καὶ δικαιοσύνη*, though not found in Widmanstadt, is supported by the MSS. of the Peshitto, and it is most probable that Widmanstadt omitted it by error. In the second passage the reading *ὁνόματι αὐτοῦ* is only found in Origen and in a few other authorities; moreover, the alteration is so natural, and similar alterations of the passage so common, that probably it was quite independent on Ephrem's part.

Our inquiry so far proves that Ephrem had access either to a complete text of the New Testament, or at least a collection of passages quite independent of the Peshitto: but whether in Greek or Syriac is not as yet shown. If we now compare Ephrem's quotations with the Curetonian, we shall find only a few instances in which the deviations from the Peshitto approach that version. When a quotation differs from the Peshitto we usually find the two versions in agreement, and when not so, that they both differ in various ways from the quotation. Again, where in a passage quoted the Curetonian differs from the Peshitto, the quotation is usually found to agree with the latter (as e.g. Matt. v. 44, xi. 14, John v. 22). In the few cases in which there is some agreement between the quotation and the Curetonian against the Peshitto, there is often some still more striking disagreement in the same passage.

To take them separately. In Matt. iii. 17 and xvii. 5 the Curetonian reads, for **ܡܚܒܐ** (Pesh.) 'beloved,' **ܡܚܒܐ ܡܚܒܐ** 'and my beloved.' So that the passage curiously runs 'thou art (this is) my Son and my beloved.' So Ephrem quotes in v. 90 D; but the rest of the clause in his quotation agrees neither with the Curetonian nor the Peshitto, but is paraphrased from Isa. xlii. 1; and where, in iv. 357 D, Ephrem again quotes the passage, it agrees with the Peshitto. The last might conceivably be a quotation out of the Curetonian (here deficient) of the parallels in St. Mark or St. Luke, where the reading may have been **ܡܚܒܐ**, but this is hardly likely. The next passage we have to refer to is Matt. v. 39 || Luke vi. 29 a. Ephrem's quotation is in practical agreement with the Curetonian; but it may also be explained as a combination of St. Matthew and St. Luke. The question mainly depends upon whether the Curetonian in St. Matthew read **ܡܚܒܐ** or **ܡܚܒܐ** (as Pesh. in St. Luke), the original word in the MS. being now illegible. However, the fact that Aphraates quotes exactly as Ephrem makes it on the whole probable that they are both quoting, directly or indirectly, from the Curetonian. The case is particularly complicated, because the Curetonian of Matt. v. 39 corresponds to a Greek variant, and is in fact a Western reading. It is possible, therefore, that Ephrem may have obtained it from the same source as some of the other variants already noticed¹. In Ephrem's quotation of Matt. xvi. 26 || Mark viii. 36 || Luke ix. 25 there is an agreement with the Curetonian (Luke) in the use of **ܠܐ**: but, as this word may naturally have occurred to him from the second clause, it is not of much weight. In his quotation of Matt. xxi. 38, it is more probable, from the order of the words, that **ܠܐ** 'for us' came from the parallel Mark xii. 7, than from **ܠܐ**, which we find in the Curetonian of St. Matthew. Ephrem's quotation of Luke x. 24 agrees with the Curetonian, but no great stress can

¹ It should be observed, however, that Ephrem opposes the Western text in Luke ii. 52.

be laid upon such a slight and natural change of order. In Luke xiv. 31 we get in Ephrem's quotation what appears to be a conflation of Peshitto and Curetonian readings. Here ἐρέφ is translated in the Curetonian quite literally by ܐܪܥܐ, whereas the Peshitto has ܐܚܝܬܐ 'his neighbour.' Ephrem combines the two. But the most remarkable agreement with the Curetonian is in the quotation of John i. 3. It will be seen that it agrees with that version in all the three points in which the latter differs from the Peshitto. Some objection might be raised about the third. It might be said that Ephrem cuts his quotation short at ܠܐܝܢ, or that it is uncritical to lay too much stress upon what is, after all, only a difference of punctuation. But considered in connexion with the two other points of agreement and the divided state of textual authorities upon this passage, the omission becomes significant. A partial agreement with the Curetonian of John v. 22 will be noticed further on. The quotations which have been discussed, are sufficient to prove that the Curetonian had some, though a slight and perhaps indirect, influence on the quotations of Ephrem.

A comparison of Ephrem's quotations with Aphraates is not always easy, because the latter also treats the New Testament with very great freedom. It is very possible, therefore, that small agreements between the two against the Peshitto may be only coincidences. A further difficulty lies in the fact that the number of passages which both happen to quote in common is very small. But we can at least safely say that there is but very slight evidence of any deviation in Ephrem from the Peshitto in this direction. We generally find that when one of these writers' quotations differs from the Peshitto, the other agrees. In other cases they both disagree in different ways. We have, for instance, in Matt. xxv. 34-40, a long passage which is quoted, or perhaps we should say paraphrased, by both. Here the variations of Ephrem from the Peshitto are very numerous; and yet only one, and that a very insignificant one, is found in Aphraates. In fact the

variations of both are natural enough, if we regard the first as a loose memoriter quotation, the latter as a compressed paraphrase of the Peshitto. We will take the other quotations containing agreements with Aphraates against the Peshitto in their order. In quoting Matt. v. 4 both combine Luke vi. 21, so far at any rate as to make a separate beatitude for the 'mourners' (ܠܚܬܠܐ) and the 'weepers' (ܠܕܥܡܥܐ); but entirely disagree in the language of these beatitudes, which in both writers has striking peculiarities. In the first, as given by Aphraates, the word ܠܕܥܡܥܐ 'shall be supplicated' is clearly, as Dr. Zahn has pointed out (*Forsh.* II. ii. 16), a different rendering of the Greek παρακληθήσονται. In Matt. v. 39 the agreement with Aphraates may possibly have arisen from a similar combination of Matthew and Luke; but the fact that it is apparently so found, as has been already pointed out, in the Curetonian, and probably also in the Diatessaron, makes this improbable. Matt. xv. 41 is twice quoted by Ephrem and once by Aphraates, and all three quotations agree in omitting the word ܠܕܥܡܥܐ 'eternal' after ܠܕܥܡܥܐ 'fire.' This can hardly be accidental. The same may be said also of the agreement of Ephrem with Aphraates in the insertion of ܠܕܥܡܥܐ in John iii. 34. Unfortunately the Curetonian is here partly defective. The quotations of John v. 22 are again interesting. Aphraates twice quotes this passage in exact agreement with the Curetonian, which compared with the Peshitto has 'will give' for 'hath given.' Moreover the verb is different, and in a different order, and there is also a difference of order at the beginning of the verse. In this latter respect only the quotation of Ephrem agrees. In John xiv. 27 Ephrem and Aphraates agree in adding ܠܕܥܡܥܐ 'my' after ܠܕܥܡܥܐ 'peace;' but the addition is very natural, especially by Aphraates, who only gives the first clause. In quoting 1 Cor. xv. 53, both writers make a similar transposition; the words 'mortal' and 'immortality' being placed in the first clause, 'corruptible' and 'incorruption' in the second; but the actual language of the two

does not quite agree. The reading of ܠܐܝܬ 'and this' found in Aphraates, and nearly agreeing with Ephrem, is most probably the true reading of the Peshitto. In 2 Cor. v. 21 the reading by Aphraates of ܡܠܟܐ, synonymous but not agreeing with ܡܠܟܐ of Ephrem, and = Greek *ὁ ἡμῶν*, would almost seem to point to an error in the Peshitto text (= *ὁ ἡμῶν*), but that no variants are actually found.

On the other hand, it is important to notice that there are some very remarkable readings found in the quotations of Aphraates, which do not appear in the quotations of the same passages by Ephrem. Two of them, in the quotations of Matt. v. 4, John v. 22, have already been noticed: but there are others equally significant. For example, Aphraates thrice quotes 1 Cor. iii. 16 with the variant ܡܫܝܚ 'Christ' for the first ܐܠܗܐ 'God.' He must therefore have been familiar with the text in this form, but Ephrem's quotation, though it has several other variants, agrees in this respect with the Peshitto. Similarly Aphraates twice quotes Eph. ii. 5, 6, and in both quotations reads ܡܫܝܚ 'lifted us up' for the almost synonymous ܡܫܝܚ 'raised us up,' which is found in Ephrem and Peshitto.

The evidence for establishing any possible relation between the quotations of Ephrem and the Diatessaron is even more slight. When we bear in mind that Ephrem's commentary on the Diatessaron is our only certain source of information concerning its contents and text¹, we should naturally have expected to find traces of this so-called Harmony in his other works. But as a fact we find very few variants from the Peshitto according with what appears to be the text of the Diatessaron. That in Ephrem's quotation of Matt. v. 39 has already been noticed. Ephrem also quotes Matt.

¹ It is true that Dr. Zahn and his followers maintain that all the quotations of Aphraates are from the Diatessaron. I have already in a review of Dr. Bert's translation of Aphraates in the *Classical Review* of December, 1889, ventured to give the reasons why this opinion seems to me to rest on insufficient evidence, and it is not necessary for my present purpose to repeat them, as that question does not affect the main arguments of this paper.

xv. 27 without the singular addition of ܐܝܬܐ 'and live,' which is found both in the Peshitto and Curetonian, but not apparently in the Diatessaron. But this may reasonably be classed with those other variants of Ephrem which accord with the Greek text against the Peshitto: or it may be right, on the other hand, to regard the quotation as stopping at the word ܐܝܬܐ 'of their masters.' We find the same uncertainty in Ephrem's first quotation of Luke ii. 34, which runs, 'is set for the fall and rise¹.' The use of this expression without any further limitation is certainly curious. Now in the translation of the Commentary on the Diatessaron (see Zahn, II. ii. § 4) we have *Ecce hic stat in ruinam et in resurrectionem et in signum contradictionis*, and Ephrem's comment shows that this is not an abbreviation, but a real variant. It seems likely therefore that we have in this quotation an omission of the words 'of many in Israel,' influenced by the Diatessaron. The division of the sentences between the third and fourth verses of John i, which we find apparently in Ephrem and certainly in the Curetonian, seems also to be borne out by the Diatessaron; but here either the Curetonian or possibly some Greek text may be responsible for the variant.

The results of our inquiry may be thus summarised. The quotations of Ephrem may be considered under three heads:— (1) Those which are in exact or practical agreement with the Peshitto, or at any rate give us no ground for supposing that he used any other text. (2) Those which bear some relation to an extra-Peshitto Syriac text. (3) Those which point directly, or indirectly, but not through the medium of the Peshitto, to some Greek text.

(1) Of the first class, which comprises the great bulk of Ephrem's quotations, nothing more need be said. (2) The second class may be considered, I think, as proving an acquaintance on Ephrem's part with pre-Peshitto readings. For though there is a considerable difference of opinion on the part of Syriac scholars about the exact relations between

¹ The second agrees partially with the Peshitto.

the Curetonian, the Diatessaron, and Aphraates, it seems pretty clear that they all represent a text, in part, at least, more ancient than the Peshitto. These quotations may be explained in two ways: either Ephrem was himself acquainted with some earlier Syriac text in addition to the Peshitto, or that revision of the earlier Syriac text which constituted the Peshitto was not absolutely complete in his time. The reverse argument, that the Peshitto text, as we now know it, was definitely fixed and authoritative in the Church of Edessa, because it was the text used by Ephrem, seems therefore to require some modification.

(3) The third class of readings, though they carry us beyond the original purpose of this paper, are the most interesting, because the evidence they furnish is the most complete. Whence, we naturally ask, did Ephrem obtain these readings? Two alternative answers at once suggest themselves. (a) He may have found them in some revised Syriac text, or at any rate in a Syriac text approximating, in some cases at least, more closely to the Greek than either to the Peshitto or the Curetonian. But there is no independent evidence of the existence of such a Syriac version at this time. (b) The facts would be equally well accounted for if we supposed that in certain passages variants corresponding to the Greek, or else the actual readings of the Greek, were known to him. As Dr. Zahn (*Forsch.* II. i. p. 59) has pointed out, he makes distinct reference to the Greek Text in his commentary on the Old Testament, and also in his commentary on the Diatessaron. That he does not in the latter by the 'Greek' mean the Peshitto, an explanation suggested by Zahn as at least possible, seems proved by his instancing $\epsilon\kappa\lambda\theta\eta$ as the reading of the Greek Text of John ii. 1 instead of $\epsilon\kappa\lambda\eta\theta\eta$, whereas the latter is read by the Peshitto¹. It seems therefore most natural to suppose that he knew at any rate enough Greek for the purpose of comparing texts. But the alternative explanation which Dr. Zahn proposes is

¹ Graecus scribit *recubuit* et defecit vinum, Zahn, *Forsch.* II. ii. § 12.

equally possible, namely, that he availed himself of the labours of some Graeco-Syriac scholar; or, possibly, possessed a MS. of the Peshitto, in which the variant Greek readings in a Syriac dress were placed in the margin, much in the same way, in fact, as the variants of the Old and New Testament are sometimes given in English in our Revised Version. There is evidence of constant intercourse between the Greek and Syrian Christians both at Antioch and Edessa, at any rate at a period rather later than this¹; and it is impossible that variants between the Peshitto and Greek text should have failed to attract notice. Indeed it was probably the existence of such differences which had already caused the revision of the ancient Curetonian. Some knowledge of the Greek Text seems further proved by the one unmistakeable allusion to the Apocalypse (v. 1. See also 1 Thess. v. 2 in Table). If Graeco-Syriac scholars were not contented with the Canon of the Peshitto, it is not surprising that they should not have been always contented with the Syriac text. Whether it was directly or indirectly that Ephrem obtained from some Greek text these variants is a matter of small consequence, but it is important to show that such variants were known and sometimes preferred by a Syriac writer of the fourth century.

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

No attempt has been made in this paper to deal with the quotations of Aphraates, except so far as they bear upon those of Ephrem. The same questions as before arise with regard to Aphraates. Was the source of those free quotations and adaptations, with which his Homilies are so frequently interwoven, the Peshitto, the Curetonian, or the Diatessaron? The first alternative was that adopted by Dr. Wright, and was confirmed with very exhaustive arguments by Abbé Martin. The second has found able advocates in Germany; but the third is that which, under the influence of Dr. Zahn and his followers,

¹ See on this point the paper by the Rev. G. H. Gwilliam on the Syriac Eusebian Canons in *Studia Biblica*, vol. ii. p. 265.

may be said now to hold the field in that country. It is admitted, however, that the text of the Diatessaron, considered apart from its complex structure, must have rather closely resembled that of the Curetonian, which in their view holds an intermediate place between the Diatessaron and the Peshitto. Abbé Martin, as in the case of Ephrem, accounts for the extreme freedom of quotation on the part of Aphraates, and the amount of variation from the Peshitto, by the supposition that he wrote in metre, in this case a very complicated metre (see p. 128). But we may safely say at least this much, that, when we can compare the three together, the quotations of Aphraates do generally, as a fact, approximate far more closely to the Curetonian than to the Peshitto. We see this clearly in the examples of the three given by Abbé Martin on p. 118, and again on pp. 189, 190. The last are from Matt. vi. 19-21, xi. 28-30, xviii. 15-17, xxii. 28-30, Luke xii. 18-20. If we calculate the number of variants between the two versions in these passages, we shall find that in ten cases Aphraates supports the reading of the Peshitto, but in as many as twenty-four that of the Curetonian. But the numbers here given do not convey the full force of the argument, because the points of agreement with the Curetonian are generally of more importance than those with the Peshitto. For example, in Matt. vi. 19 we find the most singular addition by the Curetonian of the words ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܠܐ (the king who is above) and the omission of ܡܠܟܐ (ܒܫܡܝܐ) both confirmed by Aphraates, so that the sentence runs, 'the place where the moth falleth and corrupteth.' Again in Luke xii. 19 both Aphraates and the Curetonian have ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܠܐ 'and he said to his soul,' instead of the Peshitto reading ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܠܐ 'and I will say to my soul.' Abbé Martin indeed makes this last an argument for dating the Curetonian later than Aphraates. He argues that this reading was an intentional alteration of the Peshitto text by Aphraates, due to the way in which it is introduced, 'When he had heaped up much produce from his land, he said;' but that in the Curetonian it is forced and difficult to explain unless derived from Aphraates. He therefore suggests that the Curetonian may represent a revision made partly from Aphraates. But it may be fairly replied that the Curetonian reading, which may be simply a *lapsus calami*, does at least make fair sense; and that, after all, the quotation of Aphraates equally spoils the parable, according to which the rich man died before he could actually congratulate himself on his goods laid up for many years.

QUOTATIONS FROM THE NEW TESTAMENT IN
EPHREM SYRUS COMPARED WITH
THE PESHITTO, ETC.

Passages quoted.	References to Ephrem folio (Rome) and Bickell's Carmina.	Variations from Peshitto (Widmanstadt).	References to the Curetonian, Aphraates (Wright's edition), Diatessaron (Zahn's Forschungen, II. ii), Greek Text, and other remarks.
Matt. iii. 8 Luke iii. 8 a	vi. 383 B	om. ܡܫܝܚܐ and ܕܐܝܬܐ and ܡܫܝܚܐ [?] transposed to after ܡܫܝܚܐ	Cur. agrees with Pesh.
Matt. iii. 17 xvii. 5, cf. Mark i. 11 Luke iii. 22 ܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ " "	iv. 357 D v. 90 D	no varr. for ܡܫܝܚܐ, ܡܫܝܚܐ for ܡܫܝܚܐ, ܡܫܝܚܐ (from Is. xlii. 1) for ܡܫܝܚܐ, ܡܫܝܚܐ (bis) for ܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ, ܡܫܝܚܐ for ܡܫܝܚܐ, ܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ (bis) ܡܫܝܚܐ (partly from Luke vi. 21)	Cur. in xvii. 5 agrees with Pesh., but in iii. 17 has 2nd person as in Mark i. 11, Luke iii. 22, neither of which are extant in Cur. So Cur. (Matt.)
Matt. v. 8 & 4, cf. also Luke vi. 21	vi. 473 D	for ܡܫܝܚܐ, ܡܫܝܚܐ (bis) for ܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ, ܡܫܝܚܐ for ܡܫܝܚܐ, ܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ (bis) ܡܫܝܚܐ (partly from Luke vi. 21)	Cur. agrees with Pesh., but transposes vv. 4 and 5 with D, etc. So Aph. p. 41. Aphraates' quotation is very free, but he has in ver. 4 the very curious ܡܫܝܚܐ, ܡܫܝܚܐ for ܡܫܝܚܐ, ܡܫܝܚܐ, and somewhat similarly to Ephrem he distinguishes the blessings on the ܡܫܝܚܐ (Matt.) and ܡܫܝܚܐ (Luke). So Cur.
Matt. v. 18 ܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ. Therest of the verse is paraphrased Matt. v. 28 ܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ	iv. 300 C v. 174 C	no varr. for ܡܫܝܚܐ, ܡܫܝܚܐ	Cur. has for ܡܫܝܚܐ, ܡܫܝܚܐ, ܡܫܝܚܐ; and om. ܡܫܝܚܐ.

Passages quoted.	References to Ephrem folio (Rome) and Bickell's Carmina.	Variations from Peshitto (Widmanstadt).	References to the Curetonian, Aphraates (Wright's edition), Diatessaron (Zahn's Forschungen, II. ii), Greek Text, and other remarks.
Matt. v. 39 Luke vi. 29 a — ܡܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܥܝܢܐ	v. 164 B	as in Luke but for the insertion of ܡܥܝܢܐ at the beginning (as in Matt.)	So Aph. 180. Cur. (Matt. v. 39) agrees very nearly with this quotation. Cur. (Luke vi. 29) wanting. Cf. Diatessaron. <i>Qui percutit maxillam tuam, porrige ei et alteram partem</i> (Forsch. II. ii. § 17).
Matt. v. 44 ܕܥܝܢܐ to end of verse cf. Luke vi. 28	iv. 463 F	for ܡܥܝܢܐ , ܡܥܝܢܐ	Cur. (Matt.) om. ܡܥܝܢܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ which occurs in both Matt. and Luke in Pesh. Cur. (Luke) wanting. Aph. 34 has ܡܥܝܢܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ .
Matt. vi. 9 ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܥܝܢܐ and 12 ܡܥܝܢܐ to end of verse cf. Luke xi. 2, 4	vi. 641 C	for ܡܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܥܝܢܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ ..	Aph. 37 ܡܥܝܢܐ only Cur. (Matt.) has ܡܥܝܢܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ , Cur. (Luke) ܡܥܝܢܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ . So Aph.
Matt. vi. 34 — ܡܥܝܢܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ	{v. 81 B } {v. 342 F }	for ܡܥܝܢܐ , ܡܥܝܢܐ	Cur. agrees with Pesh.
Matt. vii. 7 Luke xi. 9 b	vi. 261, 262	paraphrastic combination of Matt. and Luke though introduced as a direct quotation, e. g. for ܡܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܥܝܢܐ , ܡܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܥܝܢܐ	Matt. and Mark in Pesh. are identical. Cur. agrees with Pesh. in both. Aph. 385 differs considerably, but is equally unlike quotations.
" " ܡܥܝܢܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ ܡܥܝܢܐ	vi. 369 D	ܡܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܥܝܢܐ	
Matt. ix. 2, see Luke v. 20			Cur. wanting.
Matt. ix. 13 b Mark ii. 17 Luke v. 32 ܡܥܝܢܐ to the end	iv. 490 A	ins. ܡܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܥܝܢܐ , and change from 1st to 3rd person in consequence; ins. ܡܥܝܢܐ before ܡܥܝܢܐ (which last word is read with Luke)	Aph. 150 ܡܥܝܢܐ , and similar change to 3rd person. Aph. 455 exactly as Pesh. (Matt., Luke). Pesh. (Mark) omits ܡܥܝܢܐ with best Gk. MSS. Cur. wanting.

Passages quoted.	References to Ephrem folio (Rome) and Bickell's Carmina.	Variations from Peshitto (Widmanstadt).	References to the Curetonian, Aphraates (Wright's edition), Diatessaron (Zahn's Forschun- gen, II. ii), Greek Text, and other remarks.
Matt. x. 6	v. 279 B	om. ܐܡܢܝܬܐ for ܕܠܐ ܕܚܬܐ , ܥܩܪܐ ܒܥܩܪܐ for ܕܚܬܐ ܕܥܩܪܐ	Cur. wanting.
Matt. x. 41 a Matt. xi. 13, cf. Luke xvi. 16	vi. 290 E iv. 287 F	for ܘܨܬܐ ܘܦܬܐ , ܘܨܬܐ for ܘܨܬܐ ܘܦܬܐ , ܘܨܬܐ for ܘܨܬܐ ܘܦܬܐ (cf. St. Luke)	Cur. agrees with Pesh. Cur. agrees with Pesh. Aph. 28 has ܘܨܬܐ ܘܦܬܐ (combining Matt. and Luke) and adds ܘܨܬܐ after ܘܨܬܐ .
Matt. xi. 14 ܕܠܐ—ܕܠܐ	v. 315 D	no varr.	Cur. has for ܘܨܬܐ , ܘܨܬܐ .
Matt. xi. 28– 30	vi. 372 B	a homiletical para- phrase	Aph. 119 abridges 28– 30, corresponding to Pesh.
Matt. xi. 29 ܕܠܐ—ܕܠܐ ܕܠܐ	v. 298 E	no varr.	but for omissions, among them that quoted by Ephrem from ver. 29.
Matt. xii. 25 ܘܨܬܐ ܘܦܬܐ ܘܨܬܐ	iv. 474 C	for ܘܨܬܐ ܘܦܬܐ	Cur. agrees with Pesh.
Matt. xv. 27 ܘܨܬܐ ܘܨܬܐ ? cf. Mk. vii. 28	vi. 585 D	for ܘܨܬܐ ܘܦܬܐ placed before ܘܨܬܐ ? for ܘܨܬܐ ܘܦܬܐ om. ܘܨܬܐ ܘܦܬܐ ? (with Mark vii. 28, which is otherwise very different)	Cur. adds ܘܨܬܐ , but other- wise agrees with Pesh. In Matt. both Pesh. and Cur. add at end ܘܨܬܐ , which is not found in any Gk. Text, nor in Diates- saron (Forsch. II. ii. § 37). The Philoxenian in Mark vii. 28 has ܘܨܬܐ .
Matt. xvi. 2, 3 Luke xii. 54– 56	v. 320 B	a curious mixed para- phrase	
Matt. xvi. 18 ܘܨܬܐ ܘܨܬܐ ? ܘܨܬܐ	v. 166 E	ܘܨܬܐ ܘܦܬܐ ܘܨܬܐ	Cur. agrees with Pesh.
Matt. xvi. 22 ܘܨܬܐ ܘܦܬܐ to end of verse	vi. 618 C	for ܘܨܬܐ ܘܦܬܐ , ܘܨܬܐ ܘܨܬܐ ܘܦܬܐ	Cur. for ܘܨܬܐ , ܘܨܬܐ . Diatessaron, <i>ut hoc facias</i> (Forsch. II. ii. § 42).

Passages quoted.	References to Ephrem folio (Rome) and Bickell's Carmina.	Variations from Peshitto (Widmanstadt).	References to the Curetonian, Aphraates (Wright's edition), Diatessaron (Zahn's Forschungen, II. ii), Greek Text, and other remarks.
Matt. xvi. 26 Mark viii. 36 Luke ix. 25	vi. 333 F	paraphrase, for ܡܠܟܐ, ܡܡ ܡܡ ܡܡ; ܡܡ ܡܡ ܡܡ ܡܡ ܡܡ ܡܡ ܡܡ . . . ܡܡ ܡܡ ܡܡ ܡܡ ܡܡ ܡܡ ܡܡ ܡܡ ܡܡ ܡܡ ܡܡ ܡܡ ܡܡ ܡܡ	So Cur. in Luke. This is 2nd verb in Mark and Luke (Pesh.). Cf. Mark ix. 44, 46 (Pesh.).
Matt. xvii. 5, vid. iii. 17 Matt. xix. 30 Mark x. 31	iv. 177 B	om. ܡܡ ܡܡ om. ܡ before ܡܡ ܡܡ	Matt. and Mark agree in Pesh. Cur. in Matt. adds ܡܡ ܡܡ before final ܡܡ ܡܡ.
Matt. xx. 18, 19 ܡܡ ܡܡ Mark x. 33, 34	iv. 522-3	for ܡܡ ܡܡ, ܡܡ ܡܡ, and for ܡܡ ܡܡ, ܡܡ ܡܡ; om. ܡܡ ܡܡ ܡܡ ܡܡ; for ܡܡ ܡܡ ܡܡ, ܡܡ ܡܡ ܡܡ	Matt. and Mark agree in Pesh. Cur. (Matt.) agrees with Pesh. Cur. (Mark) wanting.
Matt. xx. 22 Mark x. 38 ܡܡ ܡܡ ܡܡ ܡܡ ܡܡ ܡܡ	vi. 615 E	ܡܡ ܡܡ ܡܡ ܡܡ ܡܡ	Matt. and Mark agree in Pesh. Cur. (Matt.) agrees with Pesh. Cur. (Mark) wanting.
Matt. xx. 28 ܡܡ ܡܡ ܡܡ ܡܡ	iv. 440 E	no varr.	So Cur.
Matt. xxi. 2, 3, see Mk. xi. 2, 3 Matt. xxi. 9 Mark xi. 9 Luke xix. 38 ܡܡ ܡܡ ܡܡ	vi. 211 C	ins. after ܡܡ, ܡܡ	Matt. and Mark agree in Pesh. Luke adds ܡܡ ܡܡ before ܡܡ ܡܡ. Cur. agrees with Pesh. in Matt. and Luke, wanting in Mark.
Matt. xxi. 38 ܡܡ ܡܡ—ܡܡ cf. Mark xii. 7 and Luke xx. 14	iv. 511 A	ins. ܡܡ before ܡܡ ܡܡ (perhaps from ܡܡ ܡܡ of Mark)	Luke transposes the last two words. So too Cur. (Luke). Cur. (Matt.) has ܡܡ ܡܡ ܡܡ ܡܡ.
Matt. xxi. 41 ܡܡ—ܡܡ	iv. 506 D	no varr.	So Cur.

Passages quoted.	References to Ephrem folio (Rome) and Bickell's Carmina.	Variations from Peshitto (Widmanstadt).	References to the Curetonian, Aphraates (Wright's edition), Diatessaron (Zahn's Forschungen, II. ii), Greek Text, and other remarks.
Matt. xxiv. 15 Mark xiii. 14 ܡܕܐ—ܡܕܐ	v. 222 E	nearly as in Mark but for ܡܕܐ, ܡܕܐ; for ܡܕܐ ܡܕܐ, ܡܕܐ Matt. has two unimportant verbal differences.	Cur. wanting in Matt. and Mark.
Matt. xxiv. 42 ܡܕܐ to end of verse	vi. 529 A	for ܡܕܐ, ܡܕܐ, ܡܕܐ ܡܕܐ	Cur. wanting.
Matt. xxv. 6 ܡܕܐ—ܡܕܐ	iv. 493 D	for ܡܕܐ, ܡܕܐ no varr.	Cur. wanting.
Matt. xxv. 9 ܡܕܐ ܡܕܐ ܡܕܐ ܡܕܐ	vi. 306 E vi. 307 D	insert after ܡܕܐ, ܡܕܐ in both quotations	Cur. wanting.
Matt. xxv. 21 " 23 ܡܕܐ—ܡܕܐ	vi. 489 E	for ܡܕܐ, ܡܕܐ om. ܡܕܐ—ܡܕܐ ins. before ܡܕܐ, ܡܕܐ	Cur. wanting. Aph. 23 in a paraphrastic quotation alludes to omitted words.
Matt. xxv. 30 (cf. 41) ܡܕܐ ܡܕܐ ܡܕܐ ܡܕܐ	vi. 489 D	for ܡܕܐ, ܡܕܐ apparently from 41	Cur. wanting.
Matt. xxv. 34 ܡܕܐ ܡܕܐ ܡܕܐ	vi. 291 C	paraphrase, but for ܡܕܐ, ܡܕܐ perhaps from xxv. 41.	Cur. wanting. την ἡτοιμασμένην, Gk.
Matt. xxv. 34 ܡܕܐ ܡܕܐ ܡܕܐ ܡܕܐ	vi. 535 C	no varr.	Cur. wanting.
Matt. xxv. 34 -40	vi. 642 E, F	34. for ܡܕܐ—ܡܕܐ ܡܕܐ ܡܕܐ, ܡܕܐ ܡܕܐ 35. ins. ܡܕܐ at the beginning; for ܡܕܐ, ܡܕܐ ܡܕܐ, ܡܕܐ for ܡܕܐ, ܡܕܐ ܡܕܐ ܡܕܐ—ܡܕܐ placed after ܡܕܐ, ܡܕܐ in ver. 36. ins. ܡܕܐ before, and om. ܡܕܐ after ܡܕܐ	Cur. wanting. Paraphrased in Aph. 380, 381. Though verses 37-39 are compressed into a single clause, Aph. often agrees with Pesh. against Ephrem, but agrees with Ephrem against Pesh. only in reading ܡܕܐ, ܡܕܐ. Aph. also transposes ܡܕܐ—ܡܕܐ, but with the second, not as Ephrem the first, clause of ver. 36.

36. for ܡܕܐ, ܡܕܐ; ins. ܡܕܐ before ܡܕܐ; for ܡܕܐ

Passages quoted.	References to Ephrem folio (Rome) and Bickell's Carmina.	Variations from Peshitto (Widmanstadt).	References to the Curetonian, Aphraates (Wright's edition), Diatessaron (Zahn's Forschungen, II. ii), Greek Text, and other remarks.
Matt. xxv. 34-40 (continued)		<p>ܐܘܪܝܬܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ; om. ܐ before ܐܠܡܐ.</p> <p>37. for ܐܠܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ; after ܐܠܡܐ adds ܐܠܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ; ins. ܐ before ܐܠܡܐ; for ܐܠܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ; after ܐܠܡܐ adds ܐܠܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ.</p> <p>38, 39. clauses very much transposed and abbreviated.</p> <p>40. for ܐܠܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ; ins. after ܐܠܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ; ins. after ܐܠܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ; om. ܐܠܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ; after ܐܠܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ adds ܐܠܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ.</p>	
Matt. xxv. 41 ܐܠܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ see also xxv. 30 and 34	vi. 498 B vi. 244 B	no varr. but neither quotation has ܐܠܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ, and the second adds ܐܠܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ	Cur. wanting. Aph. 381 also omits ܐܠܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ, and, except for rhetorical expansion at the beginning, nearly agrees with Pesh.
Matt. xxvi. 8, 9 John xii. 4, 5, cf. Mark xiv. 4, 5	vi. 410 B	apparently free paraphrastic combination of Matt. and John. The chief variations are for ܐܠܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ (Matt.), ܐܠܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ; for ܐܠܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ (John) and ܐܠܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ (Matt.), ܐܠܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ (from Matt. xxvi. 7)	Cur. wanting.
Matt. xxvi. 65 ܐܠܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ Matt. xxvii. 20 ܐܠܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ	iv. 511 B v. 122 D	no varr. om. ܐ before ܐܠܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ	Cur. wanting. Cur. wanting.
Matt. xxvii. 45 ܐܠܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ cf. Mk. xv. 33, Luke xxiii. 44 Matt. xxviii. 18 ܐܠܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ cf. John iii. 35, xiii. 3	v. 309 F v. 215 F	allusion to rather than quotation from Matt.; before ܐܠܡܐ ins. ܐ ܕܥܡܐ; before ܐܠܡܐ ins. ܐܠܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ; ins. before ܐܠܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ; from John; ins. before ܐܠܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ, ܐ	Cur. wanting.

Passages quoted.	References to Ephrem folio (Rome) and Bickell's Carmina.	Variations from Peshitto (Widmanstadt).	References to the Curetonian, Aphraates (Wright's edition), Diatessaron (Zahn's Forschungen, II. ii), Greek Text, and other remarks.
Mk. i. 11, see Matt. iii. 17 Mk. i. 24 ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܠܡܝܢ ܕܥܠܡܝܢ ܕܥܠܡܝܢ	vi. 102 B	no varr.	Cur. wanting.
Mk. ii. 5, see Luke v. 20 Mk. ii. 17, see Matt. ix. 13 Mk. vii. 28, see Matt. xv. 27 Mk. viii. 36, see Matt. xvi. 26 Mk. x. 31, see Matt. xix. 30 Mk. x. 33, 34, see Matt. xx. 18, 19 Mk. x. 38, see Matt. xx. 22 Mk. xi. 2, 3 ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܠܡܝܢ cf. Matt. xxi. 2, 3 and Luke xix. 30, 31	iv. 108, 109	combination of Matt. and Mark compared with Mark om. ܡܠܟܐ (not in Matt.); for ܡܠܟܐ (in none of the synoptists); for ܡܠܟܐ, ܡܠܟܐ (from Mark 5 or Luke); for ܡܠܟܐ, ܡܠܟܐ	Cur. (Mk.) wanting. Cur. (Matt. and Luke) has many verbal variations from Pesh., but in the only important variation for ܡܠܟܐ (Pesh. Matt. Mk. Luke), ܡܠܟܐ (Matt.), ܡܠܟܐ (Mk.) differs from quotation where Pesh. agrees.
Mk. xi. 9, see Matt. xxi. 9 Mk. xii. 7, see Matt. xxi. 38 Mk. xiii. 14, see Matt. xxiv. 15 Mk. xiii. 32	vi. 144 B	an abbreviated reference rather than a quotation; no evidence of variations	Cur. wanting.
Mk. xiv. 4, 5, see Matt. xxvi. 8, 9			

Passages quoted.	References to Ephrem folio (Rome) and Bickell's Carmina.	Variations from Peshitto (Widmanstadt).	References to the Curetonian, Aphraates (Wright's edition), Diatessaron (Zahn's Forschungen, II. ii), Greek Text, and other remarks.
Mk. xv. 33, see Mat. xxvii. 45			
Luke i. 17 — ܐܠܗܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ	v. 315 D	for ܐܠܗܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ and ܐܠܗܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ transposed	Cur. wanting.
Luke i. 32, 33 ܐܠܗܐ to end of verse 33	iv. 404 C	for ܐܠܗܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ, ܐܠܗܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ; om. — ܐܠܗܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ; for ܐܠܗܐ, ܐܠܗܐ; for ܐܠܗܐ, ܐܠܗܐ	Cur. wanting.
" " (from ܐܠܗܐ)	v. 142 C	no varr.	
Luke i. 33 ܐܠܗܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ	v. 216 A	no varr.	
Luke i. 34— ܐܠܗܐ; ver. 38	vi. 606 D, E	an evident paraphrase, differing very widely but following the lines of Pesh.	Cur. wanting.
Luke i. 73 ܐܠܗܐ? to end of 75	iv. 438 C	ins. at the end of 75 ܐܠܗܐ; ܐܠܗܐ	So Gk. Text and most MSS. of Pesh.; others read ܐܠܗܐ. Widmanstadt's reading is unsupported by MSS. (G. H. G.). Cur. wanting.
Luke i. 78, 79 — ܐܠܗܐ?	iv. 357 E	introduced by ܐܠܗܐ? for ܐܠܗܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ?	Cur. wanting.
Luke ii. 34 ܐܠܗܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ	iv. 129, 130	no varr.	Cur. wanting. The absence of the words ܐܠܗܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ should perhaps be regarded as an omission, as they do not occur in Diatessaron (Forsch. II. ii. § 4). See above, p. 116.
Luke ii. 34 ܐܠܗܐ ܐܠܗܐ—	iv. 404 F	for ܐܠܗܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ, ܐܠܗܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ; for ܐܠܗܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ, ܐܠܗܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ; for ܐܠܗܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ, ܐܠܗܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ	Cur. wanting.
Luke ii. 52 to ܐܠܗܐ	iv. 562 B	for ܐܠܗܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ, ܐܠܗܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ transposes ܐܠܗܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ and ܐܠܗܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ	Expressly quoted as said by Luke. Cur. agrees with Pesh. in the order of words,

Passages quoted.	References to Ephrem folio (Rome) and Bickell's Carmina.	Variations from Peshitto (Widmanstadt).	References to the Curetonian, Aphraates (Wright's edition), Diatessaron (Zahn's Forschun- gen, II. ii), Greek Text, and other remarks.
Luke ii. 52 (continued)			but adds ܠܗ before ܐܝܬܘܢ ; but the order in the quotation agrees with the best attested reading of Gk. Text.
Luke iii. 8, see Matt. iii. 8 Luke iii. 22, see Matt. iii. 17 Luke v. 20 ܕܡܚܪܝܢ cf. Matt. ix. 2 Mk. ii. 5 Luke v. 32, see Matt. ix. 13 Luke vi. 21, see Matt. v. 8 Luke vi. 29, see Matt. v. 39 Luke vii. 39	vi. 370 D	ܕܡܚܪܝܢ placed after ܕܡܚܪܝܢ . Matt. and Mark have ܕܡܚܪܝܢ	Cur. wanting.
Luke vii. 41, 42 to ܡܫܚܐ	vi. 404 E vi. 406 A	paraphrase with con- siderable verbal differ- ences ins. after ܡܫܚܐ , ܕܡܚܪܝܢ ; ins. ? before ܡܫܚܐ ; om. ܡܫܚܐ ? (bis); ܡܫܚܐ placed after ܡܫܚܐ ; for ܡܫܚܐ ܡܫܚܐ , ܡܫܚܐ ?; ins. after ܡܫܚܐ , ܡܫܚܐ ?; ܡܫܚܐ ܡܫܚܐ ; ins. after ܡܫܚܐ , transposes ܡܫܚܐ and ܡܫܚܐ ; ins. after ܡܫܚܐ , there are besides many transpositions	Cur. agrees with Pesh. where quotation differs. Cur. differs in three vll. from Pesh., but in none of these it agrees with quotation.
Luke x. 24 ܕܡܚܪܝܢ Lukexi. 2 ܕܡܚܪܝܢ ܡܫܚܐ — see also Matt. vi. 9	iv. 435 O vi. 551 A	ܡܫܚܐ and ܡܫܚܐ transposed omits ܡܫܚܐ — ܡܫܚܐ	Cur. agrees with quota- tion against Pesh. Probably an abbreviation. Cur. agrees with Pesh., though best Gk. MSS. om. ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς . The

Passages quoted.	References to Ephrem folio (Rome) and Bickell's Carmina.	Variations from Peshitto (Widmanstadt).	References to the Curetonian, Aphraates (Wright's edition), Diatessaron (Zahn's Forschungen, II. ii), Greek Text, and other remarks.
Luke xi. 2 (continued)			words ܡܠܟܐ ? in vi. 641 0 are from Matt. vi. 9.
Luke xi. 4, see Matt. vi. 12			
Luke xi. 9, see Matt. vii. 7			
Luke xii. 32	iv. 443 B	no varr.	Cur. agrees with Pesh.
" " ܡܠܟܐ	v. 302 B	no varr.	Cur. agrees with Pesh.
Luke xii. 54-56, see Matt. xvi. 2, 3			
Luke xiv. 31	v. 487 A	for ܡܠܟܐ , ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ; for ܡܠܟܐ , ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ , ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ; ins. after ܡܠܟܐ , ܡܠܟܐ ;	Cur. generally agrees with Pesh., except that it reads ܡܠܟܐ for ܡܠܟܐ . The quotation in having both words combines the readings of Pesh. and Cur.
Luke xv. 24	vi. 370 D	for ܡܠܟܐ , ܡܠܟܐ ; for ܡܠܟܐ , ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ (evidently a paraphrase)	Cur. agrees with Pesh.
" " ܡܠܟܐ	iv. 562 D	no varr.	Cur. agrees with Pesh.
Luke xvii. 21	vi. 550 B, cf. F	for ܡܠܟܐ , ܡܠܟܐ (caused by adaptation of the passage) correct in F, which however omits ܡܠܟܐ ;	Cur. has for ܡܠܟܐ , ܡܠܟܐ .
Luke xix. 30, 31, see Mk. xi. 2, 3			
Luke xix. 38, see Matt. xxi. 9			
Luke xx. 14, see Matt. xxi. 38			
Luke xxii. 44	Carm. xxxv. 59	unmistakeable allusion to the bloody sweat, as in Pesh.	So also Cur.
Luke xxiii. 2	iv. 511 B	no varr.	Cur. has ܡܠܟܐ for ܡܠܟܐ and a few other slight variations from Pesh.
Luke xxiii. 34	v. 233 B	no varr.	Cur. has ܡܠܟܐ for ܡܠܟܐ .

Passages quoted.	References to Ephrem folio (Rome) and Bickell's Carmina.	Variations from Peshitto (Widmanstadt).	References to the Curetonian, Aphraates (Wright's edition), Diatessaron (Zahn's Forschungen, II. ii), Greek Text, and other remarks.
John vii. 11 ܐܡܪ ܕܥܝܢܐ	iv. 353 O	no varr.	So Cur.
John vii. 38	iv. 524 E	no varr.	Cur. has for ܐܡܪ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ.
John viii. 12 ܐܡܪ ܕܥܝܢܐ—ܐܡܪ cf. i. 9 and 1 John i. 7	vi. 509 E	for ܐܡܪ ܕܥܝܢܐ (from i. 9); for ܐܡܪ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ (from 1 John i. 7); for ܐܡܪ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ	Cur. wanting. Aph. 14 quotes first clause as in Pesh. Aph. 130 transposes second ܐܡܪ and ܐܡܪ.
John viii. 44 ܐܡܪ ܕܥܝܢܐ—ܐܡܪ	iv. 560 F	no varr.	Cur. wanting. Aph. 131 paraphrases ܐܡܪ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܐܡܪ.
John viii. 46 ܐܡܪ ܕܥܝܢܐ—ܐܡܪ	v. 298 E	no varr.	Cur. wanting.
John xi. 4 ܐܡܪ ܕܥܝܢܐ—ܐܡܪ	vi. 274 C	ins. after ܐܡܪ, ܐܡܪ	Cur. wanting.
John xi. 11 ܐܡܪ ܕܥܝܢܐ to end of verse	vi. 301 D	ܐܡܪ and ܐܡܪ transposed; ins. before ܐܡܪ, ܐܡܪ; for ܐܡܪ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܐܡܪ ܐܡܪ	Cur. wanting. Aph. 169 agrees with Pesh.
John xi. 50 ܐܡܪ ܕܥܝܢܐ to end of verse	iv. 475 B	no varr.	Cur. wanting.
John xi. 51, 52 ܐܡܪ ܕܥܝܢܐ to end of 52	v. 66 F	abridged quotation, om. from first ܐܡܪ to ܐܡܪ; om. ܐܡܪ after ܐܡܪ; ins. after ܐܡܪ, ܐܡܪ	Cur. wanting.
John xi. 52 ܐܡܪ ܕܥܝܢܐ to end of verse	iv. 534 A	allusion rather than quotation, order much altered; for ܐܡܪ ܕܥܝܢܐ, ܐܡܪ ܐܡܪ; for ܐܡܪ, ܐܡܪ	Cur. wanting.
John xii. 4, 5, see Matt. xxvi. 8, 9 John xiii. 3, see Matt. xxviii. 18 John xiv. 2 ܐܡܪ ܕܥܝܢܐ—ܐܡܪ	iv. 463 C	for ܐܡܪ ܕܥܝܢܐ	Cur. wanting.

132 *An Examination of the New Testament*

Passages quoted.	References to Ephrem folio (Rome) and Bickell's Carmina.	Variations from Peshitto (Widmanstadt).	References to the Curetonian, Aphraates (Wright's edition), Diatessaron (Zahn's Forschungen, II. ii), Greek Text, and other remarks.
John xiv. 27 first 2 clauses	v. 343 F	ins. after 1st ܡܠܟܐ, ܡܠܟܐ; for 2nd ܡܠܟܐ, ܡܠܟܐ; two clauses transp.	Cur. wanting. Aph. 410 quotes 1st clause only as Ephrem.
John xv. 15 ܡܠܟܐ to end of verse	iv. 466 C	ins. after ܡܠܟܐ, ܡܠܟܐ	Cur. wanting. Aph. 389 agrees with Pesh.
John xvi. 11 ܡܠܟܐ to end of verse	iv. 37 F	for ܡܠܟܐ, ܡܠܟܐ	Cur. wanting.
John xvii. 11 ܡܠܟܐ—ܡܠܟܐ	vi. 122 C	for ܡܠܟܐ, ܡܠܟܐ; ins. before ܡܠܟܐ, ܡܠܟܐ	Cur. wanting.
John xix. 15 ܡܠܟܐ—ܡܠܟܐ	iv. 469 F	om. ܡܠܟܐ before ܡܠܟܐ (sic)	Cur. wanting.
" "	v. 302 D	no varr.	Cur. wanting.
Acts ii. 37 ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ Acts v. 41	iv. 535 B iv. 371	no varr. for ܡܠܟܐ, ܡܠܟܐ; ܡܠܟܐ; ܡܠܟܐ; placed before, instead of after, ܡܠܟܐ	The first variant agrees with Gk. ἀπὸ προσέπου τοῦ συνεδρίου, the second is supported by Origen, the Aethiopic, and a few very late Gk. cursives.
Acts vii. 43 ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ	v. 114 C	no varr.	
Acts vii. 52 Acts ix. 15 ܡܠܟܐ—ܡܠܟܐ	iv. 406 B iv. 288 F	no varr. ܡܠܟܐ—ܡܠܟܐ; placed before, instead of after, ܡܠܟܐ	The last variation is the reading given by Schaaf and editors of the Peshitto generally. An ancient MS. in the British Museum reads ܡܠܟܐ (G. H. G.).
Acts xiii. 46, 47 — ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ	v. 303 C	ins. after ܡܠܟܐ, ܡܠܟܐ; for ܡܠܟܐ, ܡܠܟܐ; for ܡܠܟܐ, ܡܠܟܐ; for ܡܠܟܐ, ܡܠܟܐ; for ܡܠܟܐ, ܡܠܟܐ	
Acts xxiv. 25 ܡܠܟܐ—ܡܠܟܐ	v. 96 D	om. 2nd and 3rd ܡܠܟܐ	

Passages quoted.	References to Ephrem folio (Rome) and Bickell's Carmina.	Variations from Peshitto (Widmanstadt).	References to the Curetonian, Aphraates (Wright's edition), Diatessaron (Zahn's Forschungen, II. ii), Greek Text, and other remarks.
Rom. v. 15 ܠܐܡܢܐ — Rom. v. 20 ܡܠܟܐ to end of verse	iv. 562 D vi. 440 E and 615 A	no varr. for ܠܐܡܢܐ ; for ܡܠܟܐ , ܡܠܟܐ ; adds after ܡܠܟܐ , ܡܠܟܐ ; adds after ܡܠܟܐ , ܡܠܟܐ ; for ܡܠܟܐ , ܡܠܟܐ (after, instead of before, ܡܠܟܐ) allusion merely for ܡܠܟܐ , ܡܠܟܐ om. ܡܠܟܐ for ܡܠܟܐ , ܡܠܟܐ , ܡܠܟܐ	Quotation has exactly the same variations in both passages.
Rom. vi. 4 — ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ	iv. 479 F	allusion merely for ܡܠܟܐ , ܡܠܟܐ om. ܡܠܟܐ for ܡܠܟܐ , ܡܠܟܐ , ܡܠܟܐ	
Rom. vi. 8 Rom. vii. 24 ܡܠܟܐ to the end of verse	iv. 492 F v. 356 D	no varr. for ܡܠܟܐ , ܡܠܟܐ , ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ	
Rom. viii. 20 — ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ	v. 250 E	no varr.	
Rom. viii. 26 first ܡܠܟܐ to end of 27	iv. 413 D	for ܡܠܟܐ , ܡܠܟܐ	
Rom. viii. 36 ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ	v. 303 D	quoted as ܡܠܟܐ , ܡܠܟܐ	Ps. xliv. 22 (Pesh.) agrees with Rom. (Pesh.).
Rom. ix. 25 ܡܠܟܐ to end of verse	v. 235 D	for ܡܠܟܐ , ܡܠܟܐ	Hos. ii. 22 (Pesh.) has ܡܠܟܐ for ܡܠܟܐ .
Rom. ix. 32 ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ — ܡܠܟܐ	iv. 404 F	no varr.	
Rom. xi. 33, see Eph. iii. 19			
1 Cor. i. 26 ܡܠܟܐ — and general allusion to whole verse	iv. 268 B	for ܡܠܟܐ , ܡܠܟܐ	The allusion is introduced in this way:—the sheep (i.e. in Num. xxxi. 32), being greater in number than the other animals, signified that the simple who are made disciples are greater in number than 'the teachers in the flesh,' etc.

Passages quoted.	References to Ephrem folio (Rome) and Bickell's Carmina.	Variations from Peshitto (Widmanstadt).	References to the Curetonian, Aphraates (Wright's edition), Diatessaron (Zahn's Forschungen, II. ii), Greek Text, and other remarks.
1 Cor. i. 30 ܠܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ to end of verse	iv. 177 C	om. ܠܥܝܢܐ ; om. ܥܠܡܐ before ܠܥܝܢܐ ; om. ܥܠܡܐ ; transposes ܠܥܝܢܐ to the end; ins. after ܠܥܝܢܐ , ܥܠܡܐ reference merely; but introducing the words ܠܥܝܢܐ — ܥܠܡܐ as in Pesh.	
1 Cor. ii. 4	v. 129 D	evidently an intentional expansion	
1 Cor. iii. 16, 17 to ܠܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܠܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ	v. 334 D	ins. after ܠܥܝܢܐ , ܥܠܡܐ ; before ܠܥܝܢܐ , ܥܠܡܐ ; at end of 16 ܠܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ; after 1st ܠܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ , ܥܠܡܐ ; after 1st ܠܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ , ܥܠܡܐ ; after 2nd ܠܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ , ܥܠܡܐ	Aph. 7. 10, 484 has for 2nd ܠܥܝܢܐ in v. 16, ܠܥܝܢܐ , and (68) for 1st ܠܥܝܢܐ in v. 16, ܠܥܝܢܐ ; there seem to be no variants in Pesh. or Gk.
1 Cor. vii. 30 last 2 clauses	vi. 309 B	for ܠܥܝܢܐ , ܥܠܡܐ (bis), and sing. for plural throughout	
1 Cor. vii. 31 to end of verse	vi. 309 B	no varr.	
" "	v. 338 F	om. ܠܥܝܢܐ ; om. ܥܠܡܐ	
1 Cor. ix. 25	vi. 376 E	paraphrase containing remarkable phrase ܠܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ — ܥܠܡܐ , but omitting ܥܠܡܐ	
1 Cor. x. 6	v. 112 C	no varr.	
1 Cor. xii. 4	iv. 324 E	allusion containing all the striking words of Pesh.	
1 Cor. xiii. 12 [ܠܥܝܢܐ] to end of verse	iv. 462 C	no varr.	
1 Cor. xv. 36	vi. 335 E	no varr.	
1 Cor. xv. 53	vi. 336 E	for ܠܥܝܢܐ and ܥܠܡܐ and ܠܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ; for ܠܥܝܢܐ , ܥܠܡܐ ; for ܠܥܝܢܐ and ܥܠܡܐ , ܥܠܡܐ and ܥܠܡܐ	Aph. 155 for ܠܥܝܢܐ , ܥܠܡܐ . No similar transpositions occur in Gk. or Pesh. of this verse. Aph. 156 has in first clause ܠܥܝܢܐ and ܥܠܡܐ and in the second ܠܥܝܢܐ and ܥܠܡܐ , and for ܠܥܝܢܐ ,

Passages quoted.	References to Ephrem folio (Rome) and Bickell's Carmina.	Variations from Peshitto (Widmanstadt).	References to the Curetonian, Aphraates (Wright's edition), Diatessaron (Zahn's Forschungen, II. ii), Greek Text, and other remarks.
1 Cor. xv. 53 (continued)			100 with Greek, and Cologne MS. of Pesh. (G. H. G. See <i>Stud. Bibl.</i> ii. p. 267).
1 Cor. xv. 55 ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ	vi. 335 B	paraphrased by words ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ (the suffix referring to ܡܠܟܐ)	
2 Cor. v. 7 2 Cor. v. 21 —[ܡܠܟܐ] ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ	iv. 462 D iv. 359 D	no varr. for ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ; for ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ	Aph. 134 ܡܠܟܐ, Gk. <i>ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν</i> .
2 Cor. vii. 2	iv. 354 D	for ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ	Apparently two different interpretations of Greek <i>χαρῆσαστε</i> .
2 Cor. xi. 2 as far as ܡܠܟܐ?	Carm. xix. (p. 34)	no varr.	
Gal. iii. 13 —ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ	iv. 359 D	om. ܡܠܟܐ?	
Gal. iii. 13 ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ—ܡܠܟܐ	v. 290 E	no varr.	
Gal. iv. 27 ܡܠܟܐ to end of verse	iv. 384 E	for ܡܠܟܐ—ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ	Abridged quotation.
Gal. v. 22 ܡܠܟܐ to end of verse	iv. 434 B	no varr. in direct quotation but just before for ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ	So Gk. <i>καρπός</i> . The construction in Ephr. shows that the sing. is meant.
Eph. i. 10 —ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ	iv. 344 D	for ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ, ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ before ܡܠܟܐ	
Eph. ii. 5, 6	iv. 529 F	no varr.	Aph. 120, 486 for ܡܠܟܐ, ܡܠܟܐ, and omits ܡܠܟܐ.
Eph. ii. 14 " "	iv. 178 C v. 445 E	both allusions only, they agree in omitting	

Passages quoted.	References to Ephrem folio (Rome) and Bickell's Carmina.	Variations from Peshitto (Widmanstadt).	References to the Curetonian, Aphraates (Wright's edition), Diatessaron (Zahn's Forschungen, II. ii), Greek Text, and other remarks.
Eph. ii. 14 (continued)		ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ; the first has ܐܠܗܐ; ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ, the second ܐܠܗܐ; no varr.	
Eph. ii. 19 ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ— ܐܠܗܐ—	iv. 313 C		
Eph. iii. 19 cf. Rom. xi. 33	iv. 466 B	a loose combined quo- tation, but in Eph. Ephr. has for ܐܠܗܐ (be- fore ܡܠܟܐ), ܡܠܟܐ; ܐܠܗܐ	Gk. τὴν ὑπερβάλλουσαν τῆς γνώσεως ἀγάπην, Cologne MS. of Pesh. has ܐܠܗܐ; ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ? (G.H.G.)
Eph. iv. 3	iv. 452 D	for ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ, ܡܠܟܐ (agreeing with ܐܠܗܐ); for ܐܠܗܐ, ܡܠܟܐ; for ܡܠܟܐ, ܐܠܗܐ	Gk. has for the first variant, σπουδάζοντες, for the second, ἐνότητα.
Eph. iv. 30 first clause	v. 509 D	for ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ, ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ; for ܡܠܟܐ, ܡܠܟܐ; om. ܐܠܗܐ?	Aph. 125 supports first variant, and for second reads ܡܠܟܐ.
Eph. vi. 16 ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ—	iv. 430 A	ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ	Change necessitated by context.
Phil. ii. 10	v. 215 F	for ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ, ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ	Aph. 276 paraphrases, but has nothing to corre- spond to ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ
Phil. iii. 21 ܡܠܟܐ— ܡܠܟܐ?	iv. 493 A	no varr.	
Col. i. 16 ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ—	iv. 18 E	for ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ; for ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ, ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ; for ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ (bis)	
Col. i. 26, 27	iv. 324 F	quotation interwoven with text, but several expressions agree with Pesh.	

Passages quoted.	References to Ephrem folio (Rome) and Bickell's Carmina.	Variations from Pesbittō (Widmanstadt).	References to the Curetonian, Aphraates (Wright's edition), Diatessaron (Zahn's Forschungen, II. ii), Greek Text, and other remarks.
Col. iii. 5 ܡܠܟܐ (sic) —[ܡܠܟܐ] ܡܠܟܐ	iv. 137 E	no varr.	
1 Thess. iv. 16 to ܡܠܟܐ 1 Thess. iv. 17	iv. 493 D v. 398 D	for ܡܠܐ, ܡܠܟܐ allusion to ܡܠܟܐ in the words ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ Pesh. in Thess. has ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ, ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ, ܡܠܟܐ in Pet. ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ quotation is ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ	Aph. 437 ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ The quotation resembles Pet. more than Thess. in (1) the word ܡܠܟܐ for ܡܠܟܐ (Thess.), and (2) the omission of ܡܠܟܐ; but these slight coincidences with Pet. may easily both be accidental.
1 Tim. iv. 8 ܡܠܟܐ to the end of verse 1 Tim. vi. 6 ܡܠܟܐ to end of verse	iv. 393 D iv. 318 B	for ܡܠܟܐ, ܡܠܟܐ, necessitated by way in which quota- tion is introduced adaptation rather than quotation; for ܡܠܟܐ, ܡܠܟܐ; for ܡܠܟܐ, ܡܠܟܐ; for ܡܠܟܐ, ܡܠܟܐ	
Titus ii. 14 ܡܠܟܐ—ܡܠܟܐ Titus iii. 5, 6 ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ and whole of 6	iv. 345 A iv. 490 C	no varr. for ܡܠܟܐ, ܡܠܟܐ; ins. after ܡܠܟܐ, ܡܠܟܐ; for ܡܠܟܐ, ܡܠܟܐ	
Hebr. ix. 26 ܡܠܟܐ to end of verse	iv. 322 C	om. ܡܠܟܐ	No mention of author or book.

Passages quoted.	References to Ephrem folio (Rome) and Bickell's <i>Carmina</i> .	Variations from Peshitto (Widmanstadt).	References to the Curetonian, Aphraates (Wright's edition), Diatessaron (Zahn's <i>Forschungen</i> , II. ii), Greek Text, and other remarks.
Hebr. xiii. 12 ܠܚܝܬ ܡܝܬ ܡܕܒܪܐ ܡܕܒܪܐ	iv. 511 B	quoted as ܠܚܝܬ ܠܚܝܬ ܡܕܒܪܐ ܡܕܒܪܐ	Cf. Gk. <i>ἐξω τῆς πόλεως ἔπαθε</i> . The resemblance to this passage, however, may be only accidental. Christ crucified without the gate is compared to Naboth who suffered outside Jezreel.
1 Pet. ii. 9 1 Pet. ii. 22 ܠܚܝܬ ܡܕܒܪܐ to end of verse, cf. Is. liii. 9	v. 330 A v. 298 B	paraphrase merely for ܠܚܝܬ ܡܕܒܪܐ (Is.); for ܠܚܝܬ ܡܕܒܪܐ (Is. ܠܚܝܬ ܡܕܒܪܐ); transposes ܡܕܒܪܐ and ܠܚܝܬ (Is. omits)	Quotation introduced with the words 'as Isaiah testifies concerning him,' but is evidently influenced by the passage in St. Peter.
2 Pet. iii. 10, see 1 Thess. v. 2			
1 John i. 7, see John viii. 12 1 John ii. 2	v. 286 B	for ܠܚܝܬ ܡܕܒܪܐ; om. ܠܚܝܬ	
Rev. v. 1	v. 332 C	a distinct allusion, beginning with the words ܠܚܝܬ ܡܕܒܪܐ	

V.

THE TEXT OF THE CANONS OF ANCYRA.

[R. B. RACKHAM.]

A. TEXT.

LIST OF MSS: (1) COLLECTIONS OF THE COUNCILS.

At Cambridge, in the University Library:—

C cod. ee iv 29 membran. s. xii

at Florence, in the Laurentian library:—

F₁ plut. x cod. 10 membran. s. xi¹F₂ ix 8 „ s. xiF₃ x 1 chartac. s. xiii

at London, in the British Museum:—

L cod. add. 17474 chartac. s. xv

at Milan, in the Ambrosian library:—

M₁ cod. b 107 sup. membran. s. xii, xiiiM₂ f 48 sup. „ s. xii, xiii²M₃ e 94 sup. „ s. xiii³at Munich, in the Royal library⁴:—

Mon cod. 380 bombyc. s. xiv

at Oxford, in the Bodleian library:—

O₁ cod. bar. 26 membran. s. xi ineunt.O₂ bar. 196 „ a. d. 1043O₃ bar. 185 „ s. xi ineunt.O₄ land. 39 „ s. xi ineunt.⁵O₅ misc. 206 „ s. xi exeunt.

¹) The dates given are those assigned to the mss in the respective catalogues, and are to be depended upon accordingly: in many cases the dates given above are very uncertain.

²) *Messapiæ in Magna Graecia emptus*, 1606.

³) *Soliti in Magna Graecia emptus est*, 1606.

⁴) In the Munich library, cod. 397 is a copy *e mss codices Parisiensi*, given to the library by *M. Elias Ehinger, gymnastii patrii professor et bibliothecarius, postridie Petri et Pauli*, 1618; but the original I have not come across at Paris, at least among the mss earlier than the sixteenth century.

⁵) Came through Germany and Egypt from Constantinople, *post direptionem urbis*.

140 *The Text of the Canons of Ancyra.*

O₆ cod. seld. 48 membran. s. xiii¹
 O₇ misc. 170 „ s. xiv, xv
 O₈ bar. 158 chartac. s. xv

at Paris, in the National library:—

P₁ cod. 1334 membran. s. x
 P₂ suppl. 1085 „ s. x
 P₃ suppl. 614 „ s. x
 P₄ 1320 „ s. xi
 P₅ 1325 „ s. xi²
 P₆ suppl. 1086 „ s. xi
 P₇ 1324 „ a.d. 1104³
 P₈ coislin. 34 „ s. xii⁴
 P₉ coislin. 35 „ s. xii
 P₁₀ coislin. 211 „ s. xii
 P₁₁ coislin. 364 „ a.d. 1295
 P₁₂ 1370 „ a.d. 1297
 P₁₃ 1369 bombyc. s. xiv
 P₁₄ 1339 membran. s. xv
 P₁₅ 1337 chartac. s. xv
 P₁₆ 1374 „ s. xv
 P₁₇ suppl. 304 „ s. xvi

at Rome, in the Vatican library:—

R₁ cod. palat. 376 membran. s. x ineunt. (=palat., Pitra)
 R₂ vatic. 827 „ s. xi⁵ (=vatic. 1, Pitra)
 R₃ vatic. 1980 „ s. xi (=vatic. 2, Pitra)
 R₄ vatic. 2060 „ s. xi, xii (?) (=vatic. 3, Pitra)

in the Vallicellian library (Chiesa Nuova):—

R₅ cod. f. 10 membran. s. x, xi

in the Bibliotheca Angelica (S. Agostino):—

R₆ cod. b. 1, 12 chartac. s. xv^{6,7}

¹) *Olim monasterii SS. Trinitatis in insula Chalce.*

²) Can. Ancy. i-xvi *διατελέσαντες deficiunt.*

³) Begun by Νικόλαος γραφεύς, finished by Ίωάννης εὐρελῆς πρεσβύτερος.

⁴) Can. Ancy. v τοὺς δὲ ἐπισκόπους—xviii *ἐκκλήρυκτους deficiunt.*

⁵) Can. Ancy. i-v δι' ὧν *deficiunt.*

⁶) Can. Ancy. xviii *βούλοντο els—xxv deficiunt.*

⁷) Another ms mentioned by Pitra, cod. column. 23, s. xiii, now in the Vatican, remains to be collated: but possibly it is the ms of Photius' *Synagma*, which Card. Mai printed in his *Spicileg. Roman.* t. vii. Of the other mss given by Pitra, ottob. 99, vatic. 1150, 1455 apparently do not contain the canons, while regin. 57, ottob. 249 are mss of Zonaras and Balsamon respectively (*Juris Eccles. Graec. Hist. et Monum.* i. 425).

at Venice, in S. Mark's library :—

V ₁	cod. bessar. 169	membran. s. xii, xiii ¹
V ₂	bessar. 170	„ s. xiii
V ₃	nanian. 226	„ s. xiii, xiv
V ₄	bessar. 171	chartac. s. xiii, xiv
V ₅	nanian. 236	„ a. d. 1467

(2) JOHN OF ANTIOCH'S CΥNAΓΩΓΗ.

joh 1	at Paris	cod. coislin. 209	membran. s. x, xi
joh 2	„	coislin. 211	„ s. xii
joh 3	„	suppl. 483	bombyc. s. xiv
joh 4	at Oxford	cod. bar. 86	membran. s. xii exeunt.
joh 5	„	misc. 77 ^a	
joh 6 = Justel's text (<i>Biblioth. Juris Canon.</i> Paris, 1661), printed, as he tells us, from a very ancient ms, <i>quod ex bibliotheca collegii Claromontani Parisiensis beneficio doctiss. Iac. Sirmondi nacti sumus</i> : this ms is now unfortunately lost ² .			
joh 7	at Rome	cod. vatic. 843	
joh 8	at Florence	plut. ix cod. 8 (F ₂)	

(3) ZONARAS' COMMENTARY.

zon 1	at Paris	cod. 1319	bombyc. s. xiii
zon 2	„	coislin. 210	„ s. xiv
zon 3	at London	add. 22746	membran. s. xiii

(4) BALSAMON'S COMMENTARY.

bals 1	at Venice	cod. bessar. 168	chartac. s. xiii
bals 2	at Oxford	cod. bar. 205	„ s. xiv ⁴
bals 3	at Paris	cod. 1331	bombyc. s. xiv
bals 4	„	1328	chartac. s. xv

The readings of Photius are taken from his *Syntagma Canonum*, printed by Mai in the *Spicilegium Romanum*, t. vii: his ms was a *codex columnensis, nunc vaticanus, insignis, membranaceus, antiquus, saec. nempe saltem xii, calligrapha diligen-*

¹) These dates are very uncertain.

²) This ms differs very much from the ordinary text, and it only contains a very few of the Ancyran Canons. There seem to have been two widely different editions of the *Synagoge* (cf. Pitra). From this ms, joh 5 as also from joh 7, 8, only a very few readings have been obtained: but joh 1 2 3 4 6 have been collated throughout.

³) Justel knew of two other very old mss of John's *Synagoge*, viz. *unum perquam vetustum Romae in bibliotheca vaticana, Heidelbergae adlatum, insigne quidem et eximium* (1 = vatic. 843): *alterum non minus antiquum in bibliotheca illustr. Franciae Cancellarii Petri Seguierii* (1 cod. coislin. 209).

⁴) The text printed by Beveredge in his *Synodicon*.

tique manu scriptus, tantaeque varietatis ut hic solus Photii verum syntagma continere videatur.

The various readings are given in two divisions, in the upper division only the more significant variations being given.

The authorities are ranged in chronological order, but the earlier mss of the Canons are also ranged according to their families: which are thus marked—

α denotes $R_1 P_1 P_2 O_2 O_3 P_4 F_2 V_1 O_6 V_5$

β „ $P_3 R_2 R_4 O_4 P_5 P_6 F_1 O_5 P_7 P_8 P_{10} C V_2$

γ „ $R_3 R_2 O_1 P_9 O_7 F_3$

δ „ $M_1 M_2 M_3 P_{11} P_{12} V_3$

Also, for example, β (*exc* $R_2 R_4$) means that all the β mss except $R_2 R_4$ agree with the reading given.

Further—

$e = L O_8 P_{14}$

$f = P_{15} P_{16} P_{17}$

joh = joh 1 2 3 4 6 (the only mss of joh collated throughout)

zon = zon 1 2 3 zon-com = Zonaras in his commentary

bals = bals 1 2 3 4 bals-com = Balsamon „ „

phot = Photius matt = Matthew Blastar

* marks the original reading, * the first corrector.

Thus the complete list of authorities in proper order will be $\alpha \beta \gamma \delta V_1$ Mon $P_{15} R_2 e f$ joh phot zon zon-com bals bals-com matt.

In the case of the mss of the Councils silence in the notes denotes agreement with the text. But the commentators have not been so exhaustively treated: all the significant variations of joh, zon, bals, have been given, but insignificant variations in individual mss have been omitted.

The text printed is that of α .

Comparative Table of MSS.

	s. x	xi	xii	xiii	xiv	xv
α	$R_1 P_1 P_2$	$O_2 O_3 P_4 F_2$	V_1	O_6		V_5
β	P_3	$R_2 R_4 O_4 P_5 P_6 F_1 O_5$	$P_7 P_8 P_{10} C$	V_2		
γ	R_3	$R_2 O_1$	P_9	$O_7 F_3$		
δ			$M_1 M_2$	$M_3 P_{11} P_{12}$	V_3	
<i>et etc</i>				V_4	Mon P_{15}	$L O_8 P_{14} R_2 P_{13} P_{16} P_{17}$
				zon 1 3	zon 2	
				bals 1	bals 2 3	bals 4
	joh 7	joh 1 8	joh 2 4 5	joh 3		

ΚΑΝΟΝΕΣ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΑΓΚΥΡΑ ΣΥΝΕΛΘΟΝΤΩΝ ΜΑΚΑ-
ΡΙΩΝ ΠΡΩΝ ΟΙΤΙΝΕΣ ΠΡΟΓΕΝΕΣΤΕΡΟΙ ΜΕΝ
ΕΙΣΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΝΙΚΑΙΑ ΕΚΤΕΘΕΝΤΩΝ ΚΑΝΟΝΩΝ
ΔΕΥΤΕΡΕΥΟΥΣΙ ΔΕ ΔΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΤΗΣ ΟΙΚΟΥΜΕ-
ΝΙΚΗΣ ΣΥΝΟΔΟΥ ΑΥΘΕΝΤΕΙΑΝ.

1 Πρεσβυτέρους τοὺς ἐπιθύσαντας, εἴτα ἐπαναπαλαίσαντας
μήτε ἐκ μεθόδου τιωδς ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀληθείας μήτε προκατα-
σκευάσαντας καὶ ἐπιτηδεύσαντας καὶ πείσαντας ἵνα δόξωσι
μὲν βασάνοις ὑποβάλλεσθαι, ταύτας δὲ τῷ δοκεῖν καὶ τῷ
σχήματι προσαχθῆναι, τούτους ἔδοξε τῆς μὲν τιμῆς τῆς κατὰ 5
τὴν καθέδραν μετέχειν, προσφέρειν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἡ ὁμιλεῖν ἡ
ὀλως λειτουργεῖν τι τῶν ἱερατικῶν λειτουργικῶν μὴ ἐξεῖναι.

ΚΑΝΟΝΕΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΝ ΑΓΚΥΡΑ ΣΥΝΟΔΟΥ P₁₃ O₈ f zon 1 bals 2 3 4
add ΚΑΝΟΝΕΣ ΚΕ f ΚΑΝΟΝΕΣ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΑΓΚΥΡΑ ΣΥΝΕΛΘΟΝ-
ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΠΡΩΝ bals 1 ΚΑΝΟΝΕΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΝ ΑΓΚΥΡΑ
ΣΥΣΤΑΧΗΣ ΣΥΝΟΔΟΥ L zon 2 3 add ΕΠΙ ΤΗΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΣ
ΑΥΡΗΛΙΑΝΟΥ ΚΕ L *tit deficit in P₁₄* ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΑΓΚΥΡΑ
ΑΓΙΩΝ ΠΡΩΝ ΚΑΝΟΝΕΣ ΚΕ P₁₁ ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΝ ΑΓΚΥΡΑ
ΤΟΠΙΚΗΣ ΣΥΝΟΔ ΗΤΙΣ ΠΡΟΓΕΝΕΣΤΕΡΑ ΜΕΝΤΟΙ ΤΗΣ ΕΝ ΝΙΚΑΙΑ
ΜΓΛ ΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΙΚΗΣ ΣΥΝΟΔ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΕΥΟΙ ΔΕ κ.τ.λ. (*et sequi-*
tur hypothesis, quae etiam in M₁ M₂ P₁₃ V₃ ante titulum reperitur)
M₃ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΚΑΡΙΩΝ δ (*ex M₃ P₁₁*) ad finem add ΕΙΣΙ
ΔΕ ΚΑΝΟΝΕΣ ΚΕ δ (*ex M₃ P₁₁*)

i 1 ἐπαναπαλ. α *plur cum* β γ V₄ Mon R₅ f zon bals *αναπαλαισαντας*
P₂* O₈ O₈ P₈* δ e joh phot bals 1^a 2^a aristenus zon-com bals-com
ἐπαναλυσαντας P₁₀ ἐπανελθοντας P₁₃ 7 *om τι δ (ex P₁₁) joh 4*
aliquibus (sacerdotalibus) officiis fungi isid

ΚΑΝΩΝΑΙ O₁ ΣΥΝΕΛΘΟΝΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΚΤΕΘΕΝΤΩΝ O₇
ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΗΣ O₆

i 1 Πρεσβυτερος M₃ Πρεσβυτερος V₃ *εἴτα* add παλιν P₁₁ bals-com
επαναπ.] add μήτε μετα ἐμπαιγμον P₁₁ 8 om και επιτηδ. R₂ επιτηδ. και in
mag M₃ επιτηδευσαντες O₅ om και πεισαντας V₄ και πεισ. torpe O₇
και [ινα] F₂ 4 βασανους P₁₁ βασανους μεν (tr) e υποβαλεσθαι
O₁ 5 *προαχθῆναι P₁₁ 6 ομλ.] add λογους διδασκαλιας ποιεισθαι*
(λογους διδ. P₂) τω λαω πως γαρ ετεροις υποθουντο τα βελτιστα αυτοι παρα-
σφαλυντες του κρειττονος (schol in V₁ R₅ Mon) P₂ C 7 μη δειναι L
ad fin add τουτους ως ειρηται V₄

II Διακόνους ὁμοίως θύσαντας, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀναπαλαίσαντας, τὴν μὲν ἄλλην τιμὴν ἔχειν, πεπαῦσθαι δὲ αὐτοὺς πάσης τῆς ἱερατικῆς λειτουργίας τῆς τε τοῦ ἄρτου ἢ ποτήριον ἀναφέρειν ἢ κηρύσσειν· εἰ μέντοι τινὲς τῶν ἐπισκόπων τούτοις συνείδοιεν κάματόν τινα ἢ ταπείνωσιν πραότητος καὶ ἐθέλοισιν πλέον τι διδόναι ἢ ἀφαιρεῖν, ἐπ' αὐτοῖς εἶναι τὴν ἐξουσίαν.

III Τὸνς φεύγοντας καὶ συλληφθέντας ἢ ὑπὸ οἰκείων παραδοθέντας ἢ ἄλλως τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἀφαιρεθέντας ἢ ὑπομείναντας βασάνους ἢ εἰς δεσμωτήριον ἐμβληθέντας, βοῶντάς τε ὅτι εἰσὶ χριστιανοὶ καὶ περισχισθέντας, ἥτοι εἰς τὰς χεῖρας πρὸς βίαν ἐμβαλλόντων τῶν βιαζομένων ἢ βρῶμά 5

ii 1 ὡσαντως ἐπίθυσαντας δ joh 2 om πασης F₁ P₁₁ R₈ om της [ιερ.] P₁₀ O₇ δ (ex P₁₁) Mon joh 2 3 6 3 ιερατικής α cum R₂ R₄ O₁ P₂ γ δ V₄ Mon R₂ joh phot bals ιερας O₆ β (P₂ P₆ F₁ O₆ P₆ P₁₀ C V₄) P₁₃ e zon zon-com sacro latt om ιερ. f αρτου η ποτηριον P₂ F₁ P₁₀ P₆ V₄ joh 2 αρτου η ποτηριου O₁ O₇ αρτου και του ποτηριου και του αναφ. R₂* F₂ 4 τούτοις cum R₁ P₂ O₆ V₁ P₆ C γ (ex P₆; R₂ def) δ (ex P₁₁) Mon P₁₃ R₆ e (L om τουτ.) f joh 1 3 4 6 zon 1 bals τουτους O₂ P₄ O₆ V₆ β (ex R₂ P₆ C) P₆ M₂* P₁₁ V₄ joh 2 phot περι τουτοις F₂ τουτο R₂ τουτων zon 2 3 5 συνειδοιεν α (ex V₁ O₄) cum P₆ F₁ γ δ (ex P₁₁) V₄ e joh 1 3 4 συνιδοιεν V₁ O₆ β (ex P₆ F₁) P₁₁ Mon R₂ joh 2 bals zon-com bals-com συνειδειεν P₁₃ f zon con-ecii sunt isid dion θελοιεν P₆ C R₂ O₇ δ (ex P₁₁) Mon joh 2 4 6 6 αφειλεν δ (ex P₁₁) joh (ex 3) zon-com

iii 1 οικειων] ιδιων δ joh 2 3 4 ιουδαιων joh 1 4 περισχισθεντας R₂ περισχεθεντας P₆ O₁ O₇ δ L O₆ R₆ f joh 2 3 4 6 7 (περιχεθ.) παρασχισθεντας P₁₃ zon 1 περισχισθεντας legit etiam joh 1 8 5 εμβαλλοντων F₂ O₆ P₆ O₁ δ (ex M₂ P₁₁) P₁₃ O₆ P₁₄ joh 4 zon bals 2 3 εμβα-

ii 1 Διακονοις V₁ ταντας O₇ 2 της μεν αλλης τιμης P₆ V₂* R₂ matt μετεχειν P₆ V₂* matt 3 om λειτουργιας R₆ om της τε ... κηρυσσειν P₁₁ L f zon 1 3 4 εἰ μεν τινας R₂ O₁* 5 ηθελοειν R₄ 6 πλειον R₂ F₂ R₆ αφαιρειν joh 3 zon 2

iii 1 φευοντας O₁ προσφενγ. V₁ συλλ.] ητηθεντας P₁₃ om η υπο οικ. ... εμβληθ. L* (sed η υπο. ... παραδ. in marg et η αλλ. ... αφαιρ. inscriptur post περισχισθ.) 2 om αλλας V₄ om η αλλ ... αφαιρ. M₂ αφαιρεθεντος O₄ om η υπομειν. ... εμβληθ. P₁₃ 3 om βοωντας ... περισχισθ. V₁ F₂* (F₂* add βοωντας ευρ lin et και περισχισθεντας post χριστιαν.) 4 εισιν εισιν R₂ περισχισθεντες O₆ περισχισθεντας τους χιτωνας zon-com ητοι]η F₂ om τας V₁ 5 χειρας] add τι bals om βιαν L om

τι πρὸς ἀνάγκην δεξαμένους, ὁμολογοῦντας δὲ διόλου ὅτι
εἰσὶ χριστιανοὶ καὶ τὸ πένθος τοῦ συμβάντος ἀεὶ ἐπιδεικνυ-
μένους τῇ πάσῃ καταστολῇ καὶ τῷ σχήματι καὶ τῇ τοῦ βίου
ταπεινότητι, τοὺτους ὡς ἔξω ἁμαρτήματος ὄντας τῆς κοινωνίας
μὴ κωλύεσθαι· εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐκωλύθησαν ὑπὸ τινος περισσο- 10
τέρας ἀκριβείας ἐνεκεν ἢ καὶ τινων ἀγνοίᾳ, εὐθὺς προσδεχ-
θῆναι· τοῦτο δὲ ὁμοίως ἐπὶ τε τῶν ἐκ τοῦ κλήρου καὶ
τῶν ἄλλων λαϊκῶν. προσεξητάσθη δὲ κάκεινο, εἰ δύνανται
καὶ λαικοὶ τῇ αὐτῇ ἀνάγκῃ ὑποπεσόντες προάγεσθαι εἰς τάξιν·
ἔδοξεν οὖν καὶ τοὺτους ὡς μηδὲν ἡμαρτηκότας, εἰ καὶ ἡ προ- 15
λαβοῦσα εὐρίσκειτο ὀρθὴ τοῦ βίου πολιτεία, προχειρίζεσθαι.
IV Περὶ τῶν πρὸς βίαν θυσάντων, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις καὶ τῶν δειπνη-
σάντων εἰς τὰ εἶδωλα, ὅσοι μὲν ἀπαγόμενοι καὶ σχήματι
φαιδρотреφῇ ἀνῆλθον καὶ ἐσθῆτι ἐχρήσαντο πολυτελεστέρα

λοῦντας f προσβαλλόντων L βρωματα δ (ex P₁₁) joh 4 *aliquid pol-*
luti cibi isid dion *escam prisca* 10 *om* καὶ [ἐκωλυθ.] δ (ex P₁₁)
e joh 2 4 6 zon 11 *om* ἡ [καὶ τιν.] γ (ex O₇; R₂ def) *δια τινων*
σγνοιαν δ joh 2 3 4 6 *per aliquorum ignorantiam* isid *propter*
sguorundam ign. dion *προσδεχθησαν* V₁ γ (R₂ def) bals
18 *προεξητασθη* P₄ F₂ V₂ F₁ P₁₁ V₄ f phot 14 *περιπεσόντες* δ
joh *προαγεσθαι* α *cum* P₆ P₁₀ O₁ P₁ M₁ P₁₂ V₂ V₄ P₁₂ R₂ f joh 1 2 3 4
phot zon 1 3 bals *προαγεσθαι* F₂* β (ex P₆ P₁₀) R₂ O₇ F₂ M₂ M₃
P₁₁ Mon e joh 6 zon 2 16 *om* *ευρισκονται* P₆ O₇ joh 1 2 3 4 6
ορθη τ. β. πολ. ευρισκ. R₂ F₂ του β. πολ. ορθη O₇ πολ. τ. βίου R₂
πολιτεια] *add* *συμπραττοι* P₆ O₇ joh 1 2 3 6 *add* ἡ *συμπραττοι* δ joh 4
ei vita eos probabilis commendat isid *probabilis sit* dion *aut*
antea inveniatur recta vita eorum prisca
cc. iv, v = c. iv γ (ex O₁)

iv 1 βιας δ *ἐπιθυμῶντων* δ joh 1 2 3 4 2 μὲν] *add* οὖν
δ joh 1 3 4 6; οὖν *deest* in latt 8 σφοδρότερα O₆* P₂ P₆* F₁*

των [βιαζ.] O₇ bals 2 ἡ βρ.] εἰς βρ. O₁ 7 του πένθους O₆ *om* του
συμβάντος f *ἐπιδεικνυμένου* R₂ 9 του [ἀμαρτ.] P₁₇ *αμαρτησαν* F₂*
της κοιν. μη κοινωνίας μη καλ. R₂ 11 *om* καὶ [τινων] O₇ 12 *om* εκ V₄
om του V₁ bals 13 *om* ἄλλων P₁₁ *om* δε P₇ 14 τη αὐτῇ τοιαυτῇ
M₂ P₁₁ 15 *om* ἡ [πρὸλ.] P₇ P₁₁ zon 2 *προσλαβουσα* O₇* 16 συμ-
πραττοι V₂ εἰ συμπραττῇ P₁₁

iv 1 Περὶ ... θυσάντων *om* F₂; in τίτλο V₄ Ἐπει δε V₄ *pro* βιας P₁₁
ἐπιθυμῶντων P₁₁ *συνδειπν. P₁₁* 2 εἰδωλεῖα F₂* joh 2 *οσοι* μὲνοι
[καὶ] O₁ 8 φαινομενοι [φαιδρ.] R₂ *εσθῆτα* ... πολυτελεστέραν P₁₁

καὶ μετέσχον τοῦ παρασκευασθέντος δείπνου ἀδιαφόρως,
ἔδοξεν ἐναντὸν ἀκροᾶσθαι, ὑποπεσεῖν δὲ τρία ἔτη, εὐχῆς δὲ 5
μόνης κοινωνήσαι ἔτη δύο, καὶ τότε ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ τέλειον.

v "Οσοι δὲ ἀνῆλθον μετὰ ἐσθῆτος πενθικῆς καὶ ἀναπεσόντες
ἔφαγον μεταξὺ δι' ὅλης τῆς ἀνακλίσεως δακρύνοντες, εἰ ἐπλή-
ρωσαν τὸν τῆς ὑποπτώσεως τριετὴ χρόνον, χωρὶς προσφορᾶς
δεχθῆτωσαν· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἔφαγον, δύο ὑποπεσόντες ἔτη τῷ
τρίτῳ κοινωνησάτωσαν χωρὶς προσφορᾶς, ἵνα τὸ τέλειον τῇ 5
τετραετίᾳ λάβωσιν· τοὺς δὲ ἐπισκόπους ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν τὸν
τρόπον τῆς ἐπιστροφῆς δοκιμάσαντας φιλανθρωπεύεσθαι ἢ
πλείονα προστιθέναι χρόνον· πρὸ πάντων δὲ καὶ ὁ προάγων
βίος καὶ ὁ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξεταζέσθω, καὶ οὕτως ἡ φιλανθρωπία
ἐπιμετρεῖσθω.

10

vi Περὶ τῶν ἀπειλῇ μόνον εἰζάντων κολάσεως καὶ ἀφαιρέσεως
ὑπαρχόντων ἢ μετοικίας καὶ θυσάντων καὶ μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος
καιροῦ μὴ μετανοησάντων μηδὲ ἐπιστρεψάντων, νῦν δὲ παρὰ

O₅ V₅ 6 κοινωνησάτωσαν R₅ (ητ) P₅ O₇ (ητ*) F₅ (ητ) δυο
ετη tr δ (ex P₁₁) joh 1 2 4 6 bals 1 3

v 1 om δε δ (ex P₁₁) joh 4 2 ἀνακλίσεως V₁ β (R₄ O₄ F₁ O₅ P₅
P₁₀ C) R₂ O₇ δ (ex V₅) V₄ joh 2 3 4 ἀνακλίσεως O₁ της ἀνακλίσεως
hic incipit R₂ 5 κοινωνησάτωσαν α cum P₅ R₅ R₄ O₄
P₅ O₅ P₇ γ (ex P₅ O₇) O₅ P₁₄ R₄ joh 1 4 phot zon κοινωνησάτωσαν F₁
P₅ P₁₀ C V₅ P₅ O₇ (ητ) δ (ητ) V₄ (ιτ) Mon P₁₅ (ητ) L f joh 2 (ητ) 3 (ητ)
6 bals κοινων.] add χρόνω P₁₅ O₅ P₁₄ zon add ετει f bals
6 τριετια O₅ P₅ C V₅ F₅* Mon e f zon zon-com bals aristenus quarto
anno, quadriennio latt τους δε επισκοπους hic deficit P₅

vi 1 μονη V₁ R₅ R₅ F₅ δ P₁₅ joh bals-com (matt) minis tantum isid
dion 2 χωρις η μετοικιας γ (ex O₁ P₅) μετοικιας O₁* om

5 om [ευχης] δε P₅ C Mon 6 om μονης V₁ bals ετη] επι P₁₁ ετη ετη F₅
ετη β' β' F₁ τότε] add φησιν η θεια συνodus V₄ τελος R₅

v 2 om μεταξυ O₇ om της [ανακ.] P₁₅ 4 δεχθησονται O₇ υπο-
πεσοντας O₁ om ετη V₅ τω τριτω] add τοις πιστοις συνιστασθαι
(echol in M₁ ex Zonara) M₅ 5 της τετραετιας V₄ 6 λαβωσαν
add φησιν V₄ 7 φιλανθρωπευσασθαι ! O₁* O₇ bals 2 8 χρόνω P₁₁
προεχων phot 9 βιος ... ταυτα] χρονος του βιου O₇ om ο [μετα] R₅ P₅
μεταυτα V₅ εξεταζετω P₁₁

vi 1 [Περι] δε F₅ τη [απειλη] P₁₁ οιζάντων M₅ κολάσεων P₁₅ zon 1
η [και αφ.] P₁₁ om και αφαιρ. P₅ 2 η μετοι[και] V₁ om και [θυσαντ.]
P₁₁ 3 επιτρεψάντων R₁ P₁ νυν] μη f περι [τ. καιρ.] L f zon 2

τὸν καιρὸν τῆς συνόδου προσελθόντων καὶ εἰς διάνοιαν τῆς ἐπιστροφῆς γενομένων, ἔδοξε μέχρι τῆς μεγάλης ἡμέρας εἰς 5 ἀκρόασιν δεχθῆναι καὶ μετὰ τὴν μεγάλην ἡμέραν ὑποπεσεῖν τρία ἔτη καὶ μετὰ ἄλλα δύο ἔτη κοινωνῆσαι χωρὶς προσφορᾶς καὶ οὕτως ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ τέλειον, ὥστε τὴν πᾶσαν ἐξαετίαν πληρῶσαι· εἰ δέ τινες πρὸ τῆς συνόδου ταύτης ἐδέχθησαν εἰς μετάνοιαν, ἀπ' ἐκεῖνου τοῦ χρόνου λελογίσθαι 10 αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἐξαετίας· εἰ μέντοι τις κίνδυνος καὶ θανάτου προσδοκία ἐκ νόσου ἢ ἄλλης τινὸς προφάσεως συμβαίῃ, τούτους ἐπὶ ὄρω δεχθῆναι.

- vii Περὶ τῶν συνεστιαθέντων ἐν ἑορτῇ ἐθνικῇ ἐν τόπῳ ἀφωρισμένῳ τοῖς ἐθνικοῖς, ἴδια βρώματα ἐπικομισσάμενων καὶ φαγόντων, ἔδοξε διετὶν ὑποπεσόντας δεχθῆναι· τὸ δὲ εἰ χρὴ μετὰ τῆς προσφορᾶς ἕκαστον τῶν ἐπισκόπων δοκιμάσαι καὶ τὸν ἄλλον βίον ἐφ' ἐκάστου ἐξετάσαι. 5

ετη 2^ο R₆ F₃ P₁₁ 9 ταυτης] αυτης P₂ F₁ C f zon bals 11
την της εξαετίας P₂ F₁ C Mon P₁₂ zon την εξαετιαν e f bals om
tis P₂ P₆ F₁ O₆ P₁₀ C V₂ V₃ Mon* P₁₂ e f phot zon bals matt aliqui
pericululis prisca si quod isid quodlibet dion

- vii 1 η [εν τοπω] F₂ V₆ F₁^a V₂ δ joh 1 2 4 6; η deest in latt. 2 ἴδια]
add de V₁ γ (ex O₁ P₉) η [και φαγ.] P₁₂ e f zon bals matt
4 εκαστου F₂ P₆^a R₂ O₁ P₉ P₁₁ joh 2 3 4 6 εκαστω O₆ phot εκαστον
μετα τ. προσφ. ιτ P₁₂ e f zon ι 3 bals; εκαστον δεχθηναι explicat
Zonaras sed latt. omnes legunt 'uniusquisque episcopus (ortum)'
δοκιμασαι] pr εξιστω O₆ phot pr εστω R₂ O₁ P₉ pr εστι P₆^a O₆ δ e
joh pr εστι το f bals add εστι R₂ zon 2 5 εξετασαι] αξιω-

bals 4 κατα bals ι 4 προσελθ.] επιστρεψαντων P₉ διανοιαν]
διακοιαν V₂ εννοιαν f 5 της μεχρι ιτ O₁ om μεχρι O₁^{*} om
ημερας P₇ L 6 ημεραν] add ητοι την του κυ αναστασιν κ. τ. λ. C
τρια ετη υποπεσ. ιτ e 7 om αλλα P₉ 8 εωστε L πασαν]
παρουσαν C 9 τιναι O₁ 10 εδεδεχθησαν V₂ εις] προς P₁₁
λελογισται O₆ C V₂ λελογηστε joh 3 λογισθαι V₂ λογισθηναι bals ι 3 εε com
λογι[εσθαι f bals 2 11 αυτοις] αυτης P₁₁ 12 om εκ νοσου O₁^{*}
νοσου] add αυτοις e συμβαινει R₄ επισμβαιη R₆ matt 13 οροις
P₁₁ τω [ορω] M₂

- vii 1 συνεστιαθεντων e bals 2 3 εσθιαθεντων P₁₁ P₁₂^{*} τη [εθνικη] R₁ αφο-
ρσθέντι f bals 4 2 εθνικοις] εθνικης V₂^{*}, add εν ειδαλειω τυχον η αλλω
τοπω εις τελετας αυτοις τελουμενας ανακειμενω (ex Zonaras com) e επ-
εισκομ. P₉ 3 om το δε ει χρη P₁₁ om δε O₆ om ει O₁^{*} 4 om
της V₄ μετασχειν της προσφορας εκαστον τον επισκοπον F₁^a 5 om
βιον L εξετασαι] add καλωσ V₄

VIII Οἱ δὲ δεύτερον καὶ τρίτον θύσαντες μετὰ βίας τετραετίαν ὑποπεσέτωσαν, δύο δὲ ἔτη χωρὶς προσφορᾶς κοινωνησάτωσαν καὶ τῷ ἐβδόμῳ τελείως δεχθήτωσαν.

IX Ὅσοι δὲ μὴ μόνον ἀπέστησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπανέστησαν καὶ ἠνάγκασαν ἀδελφοὺς καὶ αἵτιοι ἐγένοντο τοῦ ἀναγκασθῆναι, οὗτοι ἔτη μὲν τρία τὸν τῆς ἀκροάσεως δεξάσθωσαν τόπον, ἐν δὲ ἄλλῃ ἐξαετίᾳ τὸν τῆς ὑποπτώσεως, ἄλλον δὲ ἐνιαυτὸν κοινωνησάτωσαν χωρὶς προσφορᾶς, ἵνα τὴν δεκαετίαν πληρώ- 5 σαντες τοῦ τελείου μετάσχωσιν· ἐν μέντοι τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ τὸν ἄλλον αὐτῶν ἐπιτηρεῖσθαι βίον.

X Διάκονοι, ὅσοι καθίστανται, παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν κατάστασιν εἰ ἐμαρτύραντο καὶ ἔφασαν χρήναι γαμῆσαι, μὴ δυνάμενοι οὕτως

σαι P₂ R₂ R₄ O₄ F₁* O₆ P₇ C δοκιμασαι P₁₅ τρ δοκιμασαι εἰ ἐξε- 5 τασαι O₆

viii 1 τριετιαν O₂ F₂ C V₄ Mon 2 κοινωνησάτωσαν α (εξ O₁) β (εξ P₁₀) P₉ P₁₁ Mon P₁₂ O₆ P₁₄ phot zon bals ι 3 4 aristenus κοι- 5 νειτωσαν V₁ O₆ (ητ) P₁₀ γ (ητ : εξ P₉) δ (ητ : εξ P₁₁) V₄ LR₆ f joh ι 2 3 6 bals 2 κοινωνησαι joh 4

ix 3 μὲν ετη tr R₄ F₁ P₉ P₁₁ 4 τη [αλλη] δ (εξ P₁₁) 5 κοι- 6 νειτωσαν F₂ F₁ P₁₀ C (ητ) R₂ O₁ (ητ) M₂ (ητ) V₄ P₁₂ R₂ f joh 3 (ητ) 4 (ητ) 6 bals 4

x 1 όσοι καθίστανται] καθισταμενοι όσοι V₁ γ (εξ O₁), όσοι καθισταμενοι 2 όσοι bals om όσοι f εἰ μαρτυραντο] διμαρτυραντο V₁ γ bals bals-com εἰ μαρτυρησαντο P₉ F₁* C Mon* L f zon diaconi qui- cumque constituuntur si . . . protestati sunt, diac. quousque cum ordinantur si isid diac. qui sunt ordinandi, si prisca diac. quicumque ordinantur, si dion 2 εφησαν γ (εξ O₁) joh 4 5 6

viii 1 E₁ R₂ bals 2 om δε P₁₁ επιθυσαντας P₁₁ τετραετίας O₇ 2 υποπεσάτωσαν R₁ P₁ P₂ R₂ O₁ P₁₁ joh ι 4 υποπιπτέτωσαν O₂ L om [δυο] 3 δε F₂* M₂ 3 εβδ.] add ετει P₁₁ bals 4 tr δεχθῇ. εἰ κοι- νητ. O₇

ix 1 om δε L αλλα και επαν. in marg M₂ 2 τους [αδελφ.] P₁₁ joh ι 3 4 6 επαν. αδελφοις και ηγαγκ. joh ι αυτοι] αυτοι P₁₁ εγενοντου [αραγκ.] F₂ 3 om ετη R₁ om τον V₄ 4 εν δε αλλη . . . υποπτώσεως repet V₁ 5 δεκατιαν M₂ V₆ 6 μετεχωσι L om εν μέντοι κ. τ. λ. ad fin F₁* τουτω τω] τοιουτω O₇ 7 om αυτων V₄ τον αλλ. επ. βιον αυτ. tr F₂ επιτηρεισθω R₂ P₁₁ V₂ (ασθω)

x α. x. hic omittitur et inseritur post c. xiv L 1 O₁ [διακ.] L post καθισταμε- νοι rasura (! = όσοι) sequitur bals ι om αυτην O₁ om την F₂ 2 εφασαν L

μένειν, οὗτοι μετὰ ταῦτα γαμήσαντες ἕστωσαν ἐν τῇ ὑπηρεσίᾳ διὰ τὸ ἐπιτραπῆναι αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου· τοῦτο δὲ εἴ τινας σιωπήσαντες καὶ καταδεξάμενοι ἐν τῇ χειροτονίᾳ 5 μένειν οὕτως μετὰ ταῦτα ἦλθον ἐπὶ γάμον, πεπαῦσθαι αὐτοὺς τῆς διακονίας.

- XI Τὰς μνηστευθείσας κόρας καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὑπὸ ἄλλων ἀρπαγείσας ἔδοξεν ἀποδίδοσθαι τοῖς προμνηστευσαμένοις, εἰ καὶ βίαν ὑπ' αὐτῶν πάθουσιν.
- XII Τοὺς πρὸ τοῦ βαπτίσματος τεθυκότας καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα βαπτισθέντας ἔδοξεν εἰς τάξιν προάγεσθαι ὡς ἀπολουσαμένους.
- XIII Χωρεπισκόποις μὴ ἐξεῖναι πρεσβυτέρους ἢ διακόνους χειροτονεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴν μηδὲ πρεσβυτέρους πόλεως, χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπιτραπῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μετὰ γραμμάτων ἐν ἐτέρᾳ παροικίᾳ.

5 παρασιωπήσαντες V₁ (? R₅*) F₂ bals 6 καὶ [μετὰ] M₁ M₂ P₁₂
V₂ [μετὰ] δε M₂

- xi 1 υπ. ἀλλ. ἀρπ. μ. ταῦτα ἐν V₁ f bals 2 μνηστευσαμ. F₂* L
P₁₂ P₁₄ f zon bals 3 et zon bals matt in comm μεμνηστευσ. C Mon
xii 2 προαγεσθαι] add δεῖν δ (ex P₁₂) joh 1 2 3 4 : δεῖν deest in latt
xiii 1 χωρεπισκοπους R₅* P₁₁ L f joh 2 3 8 bals 2 χωρεπισκοπος O₅ O₁*
χωρεπισκοπον P₁₂ bals-com matt 2 om μὴν O₅ f zon 1 bals-com
πρεσβυτερους a cum β V₄ Mon R₅ ef joh 1 zon 1 bals 1 3 4¹
πρεσβυτεροις R₅ F₂ δ (ex P₁₁) joh 2 3 4 5 6 8 πρεσβυτερον C P₁₂

- 3 οὗτοι] οτι P₁₁ ἐν τῇ ἐτη F₂ O₁* om ἐν bals 1 2 4 4 om
διὰ O₁* αὐτοῖς L phot zon 2 3 bals τουτο δε] τουτοι P₁₁ τουτο· εἰ
δε joh 2 bals 5 εἰ τινας δε ἐν R₅ om καὶ [καταδεξ.] C f joh 5
6 εἰς γάμον P₁₁ 7 διακ] θειας κοινωνίας P₁₁
xi 2 ἐδοξεν] add εἰς ταξιν R₅ add ταυτας V₄ προσμνησταμενοις P₁₁ om
εἰ καὶ ad fin P₁₁ 3 παρ αυτων f
xii 2 προαγεσθαι M₂
xiii 1 χωρεπισκοποι zon 2 εἰς εἶναι zon 2 η] καὶ L 2 μῆτε R₂
3 διὰ [γραμματων] f matt om ἐν F₂

¹) et in odd regin 52, ottob 249, brit mus arun 533.

XIV Τὸν ἐν κλήρῳ πρεσβυτέρους ἢ διακόνους ὄντας καὶ ἀπε-
χομένους κρεῶν ἔδοξεν ἐφάπτεσθαι καὶ οὕτως, εἰ βούλονται,
κρατεῖν ἑαυτῶν· εἰ δὲ μὴ βούλονται, ὥς μηδὲ τὰ μετὰ κρεῶν
βαλλόμενα λάχανα ἐσθίειν, καὶ μὴ ὑπέκλειν τῷ κανόνι,
πεπαῦσθαι αὐτοὺς τῆς τάξεως. 5

XV Περὶ τῶν διαφερόντων τῷ κυριακῷ, ὅσα ἐπισκόπου μὴ ὄντος
πρεσβύτεροι ἐπώλησαν, ἀνακαλεῖσθαι τὸ κυριακόν· ἐν δὲ
τῇ κρίσει τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἶναι, εἴτε προσήκει ἀπολαβεῖν τὴν
τιμὴν εἴτε καὶ μὴ, διὰ τὸ πολλάκις τὴν πρόσδοον τῶν πεπρα-
μένων ἀποδεδωκέναι αὐτοῖς τούτοις πλείονα τὴν τιμὴν. 5

zon 2 3¹ bals-com matt ἐπισκοποις γ (exc R₅ F₈ ἐπισκοποις O₇^{*} -ους
cum μηδε πρεσβυτερους ἐν παργ O₇^a) phot² ἀλλα μην δια πρεσβυ-
τερων P₁₁ εκαστη γ δ joh 1-8 latt

xiv 1 om και [απεχομ.] P₁₃ e f zon bals 3 εἰ δε μη βουλ. α (P₁^a P₂
O₃ O₄ P₄ F₂ V₉) cum R₂ P₆ F₁^a V₂^a V₄ L O₅ R₆ f joh 4 bals εἰ δε βου-
λονται R₁ P₁^{*} β (P₂ R₄ O₄ F₁^{*} O₅ P₇ P₁₀ V₂^{*}) P₁₃ P₁₄ zon εἰ δε βδελ-
υσσονται V₁ O₆ C γ δ Mon joh 1 2 3 5 6 8 phot latt om ως μηδε
f bals 1 2 4 om ως bals 3 4 και εἰ μη P₂^{*} P₆ F₁ O₅ P₁₀ V₂
P₉^a και μηδε bals εἰ δε μη f matt

xv 1 [Περὶ] δε V₁ γ (exc O₁ P₉) 2 τω κυριακω F₂ γ P₁₁ V₄ ad
ius (iura) ecclesiasticum reuocari latt reuocari res ecclesiasticas
(monac 6243) reuocare . . . dominicam (reg 1997) 3 εἰπερ
β (exc P₆) Mon P₁₃ e joh 2 zon εἰ f bals 4 om και [μην] R₁ P₁ P₂
O₃ R₂ R₆ εισοδον P₂ P₆ F₁ O₅ P₁₀ C V₂ Mon bals-com πεπραμ-
μένων O₁ πεπραγμένων V₁ O₆ († F₁^{*}) δ V₄ O₅ P₁₆ P₁₇ joh 3 4 zon 2 bals
2 3 4 5 om τουτοις P₁₀ M₃ P₁₅ e om την P₂ O₃ O₅ P₁₁ zon
2 bals 2

xiv 1 η] και L P₁₄ 2 εδοξε νεφεαπτ. O₄ βουλειντο R₄ 3 [κρατ.]
αυτων f zon 2 3 bals βδελυσσονται O₄ R₂ (ἐν R₆ λυσσο ευρ ras) βδελυσ-
σονται P₂ O₇ M₂ εβδελυσσονται P₁₁ οι δε βδελυσσονται joh 5 εἰ δε ουτας
βουλονται απεχεσθαι ως μηδε εαρχικα Zonaras om τα V₂ om
μετα R₂ των [κρεων] O₇ 4 υπηκειεν R₅ F₂ δ (exc P₁₁) υπεικειεν L
xv 1 επισκοπω μη οντι P₁₁ [επισκ.] τε O₆ 3 εἴτε χρη [απολαβεῖν] joh
16 matt 4 τιμην add τους κακως ωνησαμενους phot 5 αποδοῦναι
R₆ f om τουτ. πλειονα P₁₃ της τιμης f

¹) et in odd regin 57, monac 45, brit mus add 28823.

²) sed in cod monac 122 († Photil) χωρεπισκοπους . . . πρεσβυτερους πολως . . . εν
ετερα εκαστη επαρχα (εἰς).

xvi Περὶ τῶν ἀλογευσαμένων ἢ καὶ ἀλογευσόμενων, ὅσοι πρὶν εἰκοσαετῆς γενέσθαι ἥμαρτον, πέντε καὶ δέκα ἔτεσιν ὑποπεσόντες κοινωνίας τυγχανέτωσαν τῆς εἰς τὰς προσευχάς, εἴτα ἐν τῇ κοινωνίᾳ διατελέσαντες ἔτη πέντε, τότε καὶ τῆς προσφορᾶς ἐφαπτέσθωσαν· ἐξεταζέσθω δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ὁ ἐν 5 τῇ ὑποπτώσει βίος, καὶ οὕτως τυγχανέτωσαν τῆς φιλανθρωπίας· εἰ δέ τινας κατακόρως ἐν τοῖς ἁμαρτήμασι γεγόνασι, τὴν μακρὰν ἐχέτωσαν ὑπόπτωσιν. ὅσοι δὲ ὑπερβάντες τὴν ἡλικίαν ταύτην καὶ γυναῖκας ἔχοντες περιπεπτῶκασιν τῷ ἁμαρτήματι, πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτεσιν ὑποπεσόντες, κοινωνίας 10 τυγχανέτωσαν τῆς εἰς τὰς προσευχάς, εἴτα ἐκτελέσαντες πέντε ἔτη ἐν τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τῶν εὐχῶν τυγχανέτωσαν τῆς προσφορᾶς. εἰ δέ τινας καὶ γυναῖκας ἔχοντες καὶ ὑπερβάντες τὸν πεντηκονταετῆ χρόνον ἥμαρτον, ἐπὶ τῇ ἐξόδῳ τοῦ βίου τυγχανέτωσαν τῆς κοινωνίας.

15

xvi 1 Περὶ] add δε γ (exc O₁ P₉) 4 εἴτα] add και V, γ (exc O₁ P₉)
P₁₁ f bals ετη πεντε hic incipit P₈ om της [προσφ.]
R₁ P₁ P₂ O₃ 8 οσοι δε] hic incipit novus canon O₄ V₈ R₂
12 ετη] add ετερα 8 (exc P₁₁) joh 1 2 4 (joh 3 6 om ετερα) aliter
quinguenario isid in qua quinguenario durantes dion

xvi 1 ἀλογευσ. O₄ P₁₁ ἀλλογεν. F₂ L om και [αλογ.] CP₁₃ Mon joh 2 3
zon 2 3 bals 3 2 ετεσιν] ετη zon 3 κοινων... προσευχ.] κοινωνητων
των προσευχων O₇ om κοινων. τυγχ. L τυγχανετωσαν O₁ τυγχανετω M₂
προσευχ.] add εἴτα και εν τη κοινωνια διατελεσαντες κοινωνιας τυγχανετω-
σαν της εις τας προσευχας V₁* της] τοις V₂ 4 εν τη κοινων] κοινωνιας
V₄ διατελετων M₉ και [τοτε] O₁ om τοτε O₄ 5 om εξετα-
ζεσθω... φιλανθρωπ. R₂ O₇ (in marg O₇) om δε F₂ 6 υποπτ.]
υποστασει M₂ εποπτωσει L 7 κατακ.] κακουργως bals 1* 3 4 αμαρτημ.]
add τουτοις 8 εχετων την μακραν εν R₄ υποπτωσιν εχετ. εν P₁₁
joh 2 3 6 9 om ταυτην P₁₀ om και [γυν.] P₁₁ joh 3 γυναικα
P₁₁ zon bals 4 10 αμαρτημ.] add τουτω M₂ L zon-oom om
ετει P₁₁ ετη joh 2 ετ. υποπεσ.] ετη υποπεσετων και O₂ 11 τυγ-
χαν.] αξιοουσθωσαν L της] την R₄ om της εις τας... τυγχανετ. P₁₄
ευχας V₁ joh 1 2 6 12 εν τη κοινων] της κοινωνιας L ευχων] προσευχων
V₉ συντυγχανετωνσαν O₄ V₈ om της [τρ.] O₄ προσφορ.] κοινωνιας L O₂
13 ει δε τιν.] οι τι τινες P₉ υπερανabantes O₄ P₁₄ om και υπ. F₁*
14 πεντηκονταετη R₂ πεντε και εικοστον P₁₁ πεντηκοστον bals 2 (! O₄)
πεντηετη F₁* της κοινων. τυγχ. εν V₄

XVII Τους ἀλογευσάμενους καὶ λεπρούς ὄντας ἦτοι λεπρώσαντας, τούτους προσέταξεν ἡ ἀγία σύνοδος εἰς τοὺς χειμαζομένους εὐχέσθαι.

XVIII Εἰ τινες ἐπίσκοποι κατασταθέντες καὶ μὴ δεχθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς παροικίας ἐκείνης, εἰς ἣν ὠνομάσθησαν, ἐτέραις βούλονται παροικίαις ἐπιέναι καὶ βιάζεσθαι τοὺς καθεστῶτας καὶ στάσεις κινεῖν κατ' αὐτῶν, τούτους ἀφορίζεσθαι· ἐὰν μέντοι βούλονται εἰς τὸ πρεσβυτέρειον καθέζεσθαι, ἐνθα ἦσαν 5 πρότερον πρεσβύτεροι, μὴ ἀποβάλλεσθαι αὐτοὺς τῆς τιμῆς· ἐὰν δὲ διαστασιάζωσι πρὸς τοὺς καθεστῶτας ἐκεῖ ἐπισκόπους, ἀφαιρεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου καὶ γίνεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐκκληρύκτους.

XIX Ὅσοι παρθενίαν ἐπαγγελλόμενοι ἀθετοῦσι τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν, τὸν τῶν διγάμων ὄρον ἐκπληροῦτωσαν· τὰς μέντοι συνερχομένας παρθένους τισὶν ὡς ἀδελφὰς ἐκωλύσαμεν.

xviii 1 Οἱτινες P₂ O₂ O₂ P₂ C M₂ V₄ P₁₃ P₁₄ 3 εγ[καθεστῶτας] δ (exc P₁₁) joh 4 6 4 εαν μεντοι hinc deficiit R₂ 6 αποβαλεσθαι R₂ O₁ δ (exc M₂ P₁₁) 7 διαστασιασους V₄ διαστασιαζουσι F₂ F₁ στασιαζωσι C R₂* Mon P₁₃ L O₂ f bals 4 matt 8 οτι και [την τιμ.] R₂ O₁ F₂

xix 1 Ὅσοι hinc incipit denovo P₂ επαγγελ. α (R₁ P₁ O₂ P₄ V₁ V₂) cum β (exc R₂ P₂ P₂) γ Mon P₁₃ O₂ f joh 6 zon zon-com bals επαγγελομενοι F₂ R₂ P₂ P₂ P₁₁ V₄ L P₁₄ joh 3 επαγγελοιμενοι P₂ O₂ O₂ δ (exc P₁₁) joh 1 2 4 aristenus professi, polliciti isid quauanti promissorunt prisca promittentes dion 2 ουτοι [τον] δ joh (cum joh 7): deest in latt 3 οτι ως R₁ O₂ αδελφοις f bals matt aristenus αδελφους L tanquam sorores latt

xvii 1 αλογευσμ. R₂ 2 εαντους P₁₁ προεταξεν R₂ προσεταξεν τουτους tr V₁ bals 3 προσευχεσθαι P₁₁ f joh

xviii 1 υπο] παρα V₄ bals 3 2 βουλοντο O₂ βουλονται zon 3 3 επιεναι] εισιεναι F₂ απιεναι L f 4 συστασεις O₂ V₂ καθ εαυτων O₂ αφορ.] add ενθα ησαν προτερον πρεσβυτεροι F₁ 5 καθεζεσθαι V₂ καθ. εις το πρ. tr P₁₃ προτεροι V₄ 6 οτι της O₂ F₁ 7 οτι εαν διασταζ. . . . την τιμην P₁₁ προς] πρους O₂ επισκ.] επιτροποις P₁₂ 8 αυτοις L πρεσβυτερου C Mon P₁₃ P₁₄ bals 3 matt 9 οτι αυτους L P₁₄ εκκληρυκτους V₂

xix 1 επαγγ.] add καν ανδρες ειεν καν γυναικες (ex comm. Zonaras) P₁₃ 2 τω . . . ορω L πληρουτ. L P₁₄ εκπληρ. ορον tr R₂

- xx 'Εάν τινος γυνή μοιχευθῇ ἢ μοιχεύσῃ τις, ἐν ἑπτὰ ἔτεσι
δεῖ αὐτὸν τοῦ τελείου τυχεῖν κατὰ τοὺς βαθμοὺς τοὺς προ-
άγοντας.
- xxi Περὶ τῶν γυναικῶν τῶν ἐκπορνεουσῶν καὶ ἀναιρουσῶν τὰ
γεννώμενα καὶ σπουδαζουσῶν φθόρια ποιεῖν, ὁ μὲν πρότερος
δρος μέχρις ἐξόδου ἐκώλυσεν, καὶ τούτῳ συντίθενται· φιλαν-
θρωπότερον δέ τι εὐρόντες ὥρισamen δεκαετὴ χρόνον κατὰ
τοὺς βαθμοὺς τοὺς ὠρισμένους. 5
- xxii Περὶ ἐκουσίων φόνων, ὑποπιπτέτωσαν μὲν, τοῦ δὲ τελείου ἐν
τῷ τέλει τοῦ βίου καταξιοσύθωσαν.
- xxiii 'Επὶ ἀκουσίων φόνων, ὁ μὲν πρότερος δρος ἐν ἑπταετίᾳ κε-
λεύει τοῦ τελείου μετασχεῖν κατὰ τοὺς ὠρισμένους βαθμούς·
ὁ δὲ δεύτερος τὸν πενταετὴ χρόνον πληρῶσαι.

- xx 2 δει α cum γ δ V₄ Mon joh phot bals δοκεῖ β (P₈ def) P₁₈ e f zon
reddatur isid consequi oportet dion oportet prisca προσάγοντας
R₈* R₂ O₁* O₇
- xxi 2 σπουδασαν δ (exc M₂ P₁₁) πρῶτος δ (exc P₁₁) joh 3 (joh 1
2 4 6 πρότερος) πρῶτερος P₁₁ antiqua isid dion primum constitu-
tum prisca 3 συντίθεται γ (exc P₉) V₄ f joh 2 4 συντιθεσθαι
P₉: latt om και τουτ. συντιθ. 4 χρόνον] add πληρῶσαι F₁* δ
joh 1 2 3 4 ὥρισμεν.] add πληρῶσαι V₁ γ f phot bals: πληρ. deest
in latt
- Ordo cc. xxii, xxiii invertitur in P₈ P₁₈ e f zon bals matt
- xxiii 1 Επι α cum β (exc O₄ P₈) γ P₁₁ V₄ Mon joh 2 3 6 phot Περι O₄ P₈
C δ (exc P₁₁) P₁₈ e f joh 1 4 zon bals 3 εκπληρῶσαι δ (exc P₁₁)
explete dion

- xx 1 τινος] τις V₁ 2 om τυχεῖν F₁* κατὰ τοὺς προ. βαθ. P₁₈
- xxi 1 om των L πορνεουσῶν V₁ εκπορνεουσῶν V₂ P₁₁ αναιρουντων O₄
2 γεννομενα O₄ R₂ M₂ P₁₁ V₄ γενομενα V₁* R₂ F₂ M₂ O₂ P₁₁ γεγεννημενα L
και [φθορια] C φθοροποιειν P₁₁ joh 3 3 εκαλυε phot 4 om δε
P₁₁ om τι O₄ R₂* ευρ.] ποιουντες P₁₈ P₁₈ bals matt 5 ad finem
add τη αγια συνοδω V₁ τον του προσκλαιοντος του ακρωμενου του υποπεσον-
τος τους συνεστωτας (schol. in M, ex codd Zonaras) M₂
- xxii 1 των [ακουσ.] F₂ P₈ bals 4 υποπιπτet. R₂ μεν] δε L του τελ.
δε tr f zon 3 bals τελειου] τελους L προς τω τελει P₁₁ joh
2 αξιουσθωσαν L
- xxiii 1 ακουσ.] add δε Mon πρῶτερος F₁* M₁ P₁₂ V₂ πρῶτος F₂ M₂ joh 4
επτα ετη P₁₁ επταετι F₂ 3 om τον O₂ O₇

- xxiv Οἱ καταμαντευόμενοι καὶ ταῖς συνηθείαις τῶν ἐθνῶν ἑξακο-
λουθοῦντες ἢ εἰσάγοντές τινας εἰς τοὺς ἑαυτῶν οἴκους ἐπὶ
ἀνευρέσει φαρμακειῶν ἢ καὶ καθάρσει, ὑπὸ τὸν κανόνα πιπτέ-
τωσαν τῆς πενταετίας κατὰ τοὺς βαθμοὺς τοὺς ὠρισμένους,
τρία ἔτη ὑπόπτωσσεως καὶ δύο ἔτη εὐχῆς χωρὶς προσφορᾶς. 5
- xxv Μνηστευσάμενός τις κόρην προσεφθάρη τῇ ἀδελφῇ αὐτῆς,
ὥς καὶ ἐπιφορῆσαι αὐτήν· ἔγημεν δὲ τὴν μνηστὴν μετὰ ταῦτα,
ἢ δὲ φθαρεῖσα ἀπήγξατο· οἱ συνειδότες ἐκελεύσθησαν ἐν
δεκαετίᾳ δεχθῆναι εἰς τοὺς συνεστῶτας κατὰ τοὺς ὠρισμένους
βαθμούς. 5

xxiv 1 χρονων P₂ P₆ P₆* F₁* O₆ P₆ C V₂ κατακολουθ. P₁₁ f bals
3 αναιρεσει V₄ Mon P₁₃ L O₂ f matt ανερευνησει P₁₁ joh 2 (αναιρε-
νησει joh 3) om και O₂ P₄ V₁ V₆ V₄ L f bals 1 3 4
5 της [υποπτ.] δ (ex P₁₁) joh 1 4

xxv 1 εαν [προσεφθαρη] γ (ex R₂: O₇* del εαν) V₄ si quis sponsam
habens isid sed quidam sponsam habens cod monac 6243 et dion
2 επιφορησαι α (ex R₁ P₁*) cum R₂ P₆ F₁* O₇* δ (ex M₂ M₃) V₄
Mon* P₁₃ L joh 2 3 6 7 phot bals επιφορεσαι R₁ P₁* β (ex R₂ P₆)
Mon* O₆ P₁₄ joh 1 zon εμφορησαι γ (επιφορησαι O₇* εφορησαι F₂)
επιφορτισαι (ex schol M₁) M₂ M₃ joh 4 8 επιφωρασαι f 8 η δε
αδελφη η φθ. δ joh: η αδελφη doest in latt 4 δεκα ετεσιν P₁₃
e f zon

xxiv 2 οικους αυτων M₁ οικ. εαυτ. joh 3 3 om η F₂ joh 2 3 4 η και και O₄
καθαρσει] ανευρεσει O₁* 4 πεντα.] εξαετίας L 5 om ετη [ευχης] P₁₁ e
om ευχης P₁₁ P₁₃ joh 2 3 4 om χωρις F₁* της [προσφ.] P₁₁

xxv 1 εαν τις πρ. O₁* προσεφθαρη P₁₀ f joh 2 προσεφθαρει δ (ex P₁₁) V₄ joh 3 4
2 om και [επιφορ.] C επιφορτησαι schol. in M₁ V et in marg V₂ et in
textu joh 8 μνηστευθεισαν M₂ μεταυτα V₂ 3 om δε P₁₁
oi] add δε R₂ M₂ συναιδοτες O₇ 4 δεκατια P₂ om δεχθηναι R₂ O₁*
(in marg O₇) eis] αυτους P₁₁ 5 θειους [βαθμ.] V₄

In textu P₁₃ ἑρμηνεῖαι ex comm. Zonarae sequuntur oc. x, xiv, xv; in textu
C ἑρμηνεῖαι quae nec in Zonara nec in Balsamone reperiuntur, sequuntur
oc. vi (σκοπεῖ πῶς τὴν κοινωρίαν κ. τ. λ.), x (δοκεῖ μάχεσθαι κ. τ. λ.); cf. etiam
oc. i, vi.

B. ESSAY.

The aim of the present essay is to offer a small contribution to the work of forming an accurate text of the Canons: a work which has indeed yet to be begun. For the great editors of the Canons from Justel downwards have practically omitted that part of their labours: they have consulted but few MSS, and in their editions have as a rule specified the authorities neither for their text, nor for the variants which they have added. It is true that Cardinal Pitra felt the deficiency and set himself to the task; but his *apparatus criticus* is not only inadequate, and by no means exhaustive, but also incorrect, some of the readings he cites from Vatican MSS being certainly wrong¹. Thus in the want of a critical edition errors have become stereotyped in the printed text; for example, confining ourselves in this essay to the Canons of Ancyra, I have been able to find no MS authority whatever for two readings in the edition at present most accessible, I mean that of Bruns², viz.: cc. xv ἀναβαλείσθαι, xxiv om τοὺς [ᾠρισμένους]; his reading ἔτη ὑποπεσέτωσαν καὶ (c. xvi) only occurs in one MS, O₆; other readings have only very weak, or late authority, e.g. in c. xiii, χωρεπισκόπους, ἀλλὰ μὴδέ. Again, many of the variants given in his footnotes I have come across in no MS, e.g. c. i προσαχθῶσι, iii περισκεθέντας, ἀμαρτήσαντας, x γαμεῖν, xvi Περὶ τῶν ἀλόγως κ. τ. λ., xxi συνπίθενται, while most of the readings cited from Beveredge are really due to Balsamon, as Beveredge's text was simply a reprint of a fourteenth century MS of Balsamon's commentary (bals 2).

¹ E.g. in his *app. crit.* on the Ancyran Canons, c. ii *lepās om vatic.* 2 (= R₂), iii *ὁπό τινων, cum vatic.*, iv *σφοδρότερον vatic.* 2, vi *om τις vatic.* 2, 3, xiii *χωρεπισκόπου vulgo, ἐν ἐκδότῃ vatic.* 2, xx *ἐάν τις γυνή vatic.* 2, are certainly wrong.

² *Can. Apost. et Concil. recognovit H. T. Bruns.* Berlin, 1839. His text is based on Mansi's edition of 1759.

For the present *apparatus criticus* we have collations of 45 MSS of the Councils and about 12 MSS of editors and commentators, the printed texts of the commentators and Latin versions, with a few readings from MSS of the latter. The examination of these authorities points to some preliminary considerations.

(a) The early MSS, at least those of the tenth and eleventh century, very readily fall into three distinct groups, α , β , γ : in the five oldest of our MSS, of the tenth century, we have an extreme and exclusive type of each of these groups. However as the MSS get later, we find the lateness of date marked not only by a great increase in the number of variants and in inaccuracy, but also by confusion between the group readings. In the twelfth century, for instance (when also a new and distinct group δ comes first within our view), a MS of α , V_1 , begins to show several distinct readings of γ and δ ; e.g. it reads with γ δ c. viii *κοινωνείτωσαν*, xiv *βδελύσσονται*, xxi *add* *πληρῶσαι*: with δ , c. vi *μόνη* (*cf.* γ), xv *πεπραγμένων*: with γ , c. iii *προσδεχθήτωσαν*, vii [*ἰδια*] *δέ*, x *καθιστάμενοι* *δοιοι* *διεμαρτύραντο*, *παρασιωπήσαντες*, xv [*Περὶ*] *δέ*, xvi [*εἶτα*] *καί*. In β also we find for the first time signs of connection with δ , e.g. P_8 reads c. iii *περισχεθέντας*, *ἐμβαλόντων*, and with C v *κοινωνείτωσαν*, xxiii *Περὶ*, C also has xiv *βδελύσσονται*. In the next century, our α MS O_8 has characteristics both of β (c. ii *ἱερᾶς*, *τούτους*, iv *σφοδρότέρῳ*) and of δ (c. i *ἀναπαλαίσαντας*, iii *ἐμβαλόντων*, viii *κοινωνήτωσαν*, xiv *βδελύσσονται*, xv *πεπραγμένων*, xix *ἐπαγγειλάμενοι*). We also reach some MSS which might be assigned to α , but have so many agreements with other families, that they are best left apart. E.g. V_4 has c. ii *τούτους* with β , cc. v and viii *κοινωνείτωσαν*, xv *πεπραγμένων* with δ , and c. ii *ἄρτου*, viii *κοινωνείτωσαν*, xv *τῷ κυριακῷ*, xxi *συντίθεται*, xxv *ἐὰν προσεφθάρῃ* with γ —but on the other hand c. xiv *εἰ δὲ μὴ βούλονται* with α : V_4 is also marked by a number of interpolations, e.g. *φησιν*, *ὡς εἴρηται*, *τῇ ἀγίῳ συνόδῳ*, etc. Mon. has some marked coincidences with β , e.g. c. iii *προσάγεσθαι*, vi *οἱ τις*, xv *εἰσοδοῦ*, but also c. v

κοινωνεῖτωσαν with δ, xiv βδελύσσονται with γ δ. Further these later MSS have a number of entirely new, or exegetical, readings. This confusion then of group readings occurring only in late MSS ought not to affect our division of the earlier MSS. It will only serve to show (1) that these readings are likely corrections or errors, and so were such in their origin, or (2) that the existence of certain various readings and recensions had become known and exercised influence. At the same time in our treatment of the groups we must bear in mind the distinction between these two classes of variations: (1) those peculiar to the group, or 'group readings,' (2) those supported by other groups or external evidence, which may accordingly be, not marks of a group, but the right reading.

(b) There is another cause to which probably a great number of the various readings are due. From very early times, from John of Antioch in the sixth century onwards the Canons have been subject to the operations of numerous editors and commentators: editors who have arranged the Canons in collections (*συγγράμματα*) according to their subject-matter, such as John Scholasticus, presbyter of Antioch, patriarch of Constantinople in 564, Photius, patriarch in the ninth century, Symeon the Logothete, and the *hieromonachus* Matthew Blastar (c. 1335), and commentators who have written commentaries on the text, such as John Zonaras, *drungarius* and *protos a secretis*, who wrote before 1120, Alexander Aristenus, and Theodore Balsamon, patriarch of Antioch, disappointed of the patriarchate of Constantinople about 1190. If these numerous editors have not arbitrarily emended the text, yet their glosses and interpretations may easily have caused variants, as in some MSS their actual words have crept into the text: thus comments of Zonaras occur in the text of M₃ (cc. v, xxi), of LO₈ P₁₄ (c. vii), and of P₁₃ (c. xix); other scholia are found in P₈ (c. i) and C (cc. i, vi). Hence if we find a variant in some MSS agreeing with the text of a commentator, and not of older date, we shall not err in ascribing it to his influence;

and in fact we shall not err in assigning to that source the great mass of late variants. To confirm this presumption we give a list of readings occurring in late MSS and also in Zonaras and Balsamon and possibly due to them:—

- c. iv *om* *μόνης* bals V_1
 v *add* *χρόνη* zon P_{13} O_3 P_{14}
add *ἔτει* bals f
 vi *τὴν ἐξαετίαν* bals e f
 vii *ἡ [καὶ φαρ.]* zon bals matt P_{13} e f
ἑκαστον μ. τῆς προσφ. zon bals P_{13} e f
ἔστι τὸ [δοκιμ.] bals f
 xi *ἰπ. ἀλλ. ἀρπ. μετὰ ταῦτα (tr)* bals V_1 f
μνηστευσσάμενοις zon bals 3 matt F_3^* L P_{13} P_{14} f
 xiii *χωρεπίσκοπον* bals-com matt P_{13}
πρεσβύτερον zon 2 3 bals-com (matt) C P_{13}
 xiv *om* *καὶ [ἀπεχομ.]* zon bals P_{13} e f
[κρατεῖν] αὐτῶν zon 2 bals f
om *ὡς μηδέ* bals f
 xv *εἰ προσήκει* bals f
 xvii *προσέταξεν τούτοις (tr)* bals V_1
 xix *ἀδελφοῖς aristenus* bals matt f
 xxi *ποιούντες* bals matt P_{13} (P_{16})
 cc. xxii, xxiii *invert* zon bals matt P_3 P_{13} ef
 xxii *τοῦ τελ. δέ (tr)* bals f
 xxiv *κατακολουθοῦντες* bals P_{11} f
 xxv *δεκά ἔτεσιν* zon P_{13} ef

The following readings are probably due to Matthew Blastar:—

- c. xiii *διὰ γραμμάτων* matt f
 xiv *εἰ δὲ μὴ ὑπέλοιπεν* matt f
 xviii *τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου* matt f
 cf. c. xxiv *διαιρέσει* matt V_4 Mon P_{13} L O_3 f

The following readings, which are certainly not right, should also be noticed:—

- c. v *τριετία* O_3 P_3 C V_3 F_3^* Mon e f zon bals aristenus
 vi *[συνόδου] αὐτῆς* P_3 F_1 C f zon bals
τὴν τῆς ἐξαετίας P_3 F_1 C Mon P_{13} zon
 x *ἐμαρτυρήσαντο* P_3 F_1^* C Mon* L f zon

Readings which may be due to Photius are:—

- c.vii *ἐκάστοφ* . . . *ἐξέσω* phot O,
 xiii *ἐπισκόποις πόλεως* phot R₂ O₁ P₂ C₇^a
 xxi [*ὠρισμ.*] *πληρῶσαι* phot V₁ γ f bals

The close relation between the texts of John of Antioch and group δ will be considered later on.

(c) The extent of the difficulty caused by the influence of editors and commentators will be seen, when we realize that we have no independent MS prior to their work. Zonaras and Balsamon are indeed late (twelfth century), but we have no MS older than the ninth century, in which Photius lived, while John of Antioch dates three centuries earlier, and the MSS of his *Syntagma* are about as old as those which we possess of the Canons themselves. Thus we have no independent MSS, and in fact the families of the MSS do seem to correspond to the texts of these editors: the text of John Schol. and of δ are very similar; the same might almost be said of α and Photius; and, though indeed there is not the same extent of similarity, yet the texts of Zonaras and Balsamon seem based on those of β and γ respectively—at least there are several coincidences which point to this conclusion; lastly, some striking coincidences imply that the text of f with its numerous fresh variants is that of Matthew Blastar. To form an estimate of the trustworthiness of these editors we can only argue from (1) internal evidence and (2) the renderings of the versions.

Of the versions, the most important is the Latin, which we possess in three forms, in the so-called Isidorian and 'Prisca' versions, and in the translation of Dionysius Exiguus. This evidence ought to be important, as the versions were made early; the Isidorian in the first half, and the Prisca in the second half of the fifth century, while Dionysius must have translated the Canons before 523, when Pope Hormisdas died¹. On the other

¹ For all statements concerning the Latin versions and mss reference is made once for all to Maassen *Geschichte der Quellen in der Literatur des canonischen Rechts im Abendlande*.

hand, the Latin is not so helpful as it ought to be, (a) because of the variety of the translations: of the so-called Isidorian version there are two very different forms¹; the two MSS² of the *Prisca* by no means agree; and of Dionysius' text there are four distinct recensions³. Further, of these versions themselves we possess at present no critical edition, the desirability of which will be seen when we come to discuss the thirteenth Canon of Ancyra. (b) The early translators seem to have been very ignorant of Greek, or at least very often quite unable to understand the meaning of the Ancyran Canons. Hence, not only do we have wrong translations, as e. g. in c. vii for τὸ δὲ εἰ χρὴ μετὰ τῆς προσφορῆς κ.τ.λ. the *Prisca* gives us *quia oportet et post oblationem unumquemque episcopum probare*, but the translators give such free renderings or paraphrases as to throw little light on the original Greek. The difficult passage in c. iii περισχισθέντας ἦτοι εἰς χεῖρας was too hard for them, and they afford us no help; for c. xiv the Isidorian translators give a lengthy paraphrase, while the *Prisca* so abbreviates it that we cannot tell whether βδελύσσοντο was read or no. In the Isidorian text we have lengthy explanations of ἀλογενομένων in c. xvi and of διγάμων in c. xix, while it renders ὡς καὶ ἐπιφορῆσαι αὐτήν in c. xxv *eique inhaeserit tamquam suae et sibi expetendam esse coniunctionem*: ἐάν τινος γυνὴ μοιχευθῇ in c. xx, and καὶ τοῦτω συντίθενται in c. xxi it omits altogether. Even Dionysius, in spite of his claim to greater accuracy, is by no means immaculate, thus e. g. ἐφ' ἑκάστου (c. vii) he renders *et singulos actus*, μετὰ γραμμάτων (c. xiii) *vel litteris*, καὶ μὴ ὑπέκκοιεν (c. xiv) *tamquam non consentientes*; καὶ τοῦτω συντίθενται in c. xxi he also omits⁴.

To turn now to the MSS themselves, as has been already said, the early MSS readily fall into three families α, β, γ,

¹ The vulgate text, and the older form found in the Freising ms (cod. monac. 6243) and the Würzburg ms (cod. mp. th. f. 146).

² Codd. vatic. reg. 1997 and bod. mus. 101, 102, 103.

³ The first and second editions by Dionysius himself, the Dionysio-Hadrian edition, and the Bobbian Dionysius.

⁴ Cf. the Latin renderings given on pp. 186, 187.

and a fourth distinct family δ appears in the twelfth century : in the case of β and γ , it is true, it is hard to form a fixed line of demarcation and a fixed text, but there are distinct classes of passages where we may expect variations in each group respectively, and the MSS in each group all tend towards a definite type of text. It is then time to give the characteristic readings of each group.

α . As this essay does not profess to restore the original text of the canons, the text of one of the groups has been printed, and that of α chosen on the assumption, to be subsequently verified, that it is the nearest representative of the original text. And this on the following grounds : (1) its MS authority, including three MSS of the tenth century, is as good as or better than that of the other families ; (2) these MSS give a very definite type of text ; (3) this text is the easiest one to assume as the basis of the others, as it occupies a middle position from which the other three groups diverge in different directions, whereas each of the other groups possesses a number of distinctive readings which would have to be discarded before it could serve as the starting point for variation in the directions of the other groups ; (4) in many cases the internal evidence is distinctly in favour of α . The MSS are $R_1 P_1 P_2$ (s. x) $O_2 O_3 P_4 F_2$ (s. xi) V_1 (s. xii) O_6 (s. xiii) V_5 (s. xv) ; and the text differs from that of Bruns as follows :—

α c. ii <i>ιερατικῆς</i>	Bruns: <i>ιεράς</i>
<i>συνείδουεν</i>	<i>συνίδουεν</i>
iii <i>προάγεσθαι</i>	<i>προσάγεσθαι</i>
vi <i>εἰ μέντοι τις κίνδυνος</i>	<i>εἰ μέντοι κίνδυνος</i>
vii <i>ἐξετάσαι</i>	<i>ἀξιῶσαι</i>
xiii <i>χωρεπισκόποις</i>	<i>χωρεπισκόπους</i>
<i>ἀλλὰ μὴν μηδέ</i>	<i>ἀλλὰ μηδέ</i>
xiv <i>εἰ δὲ μὴ βούλωτο</i>	<i>εἰ δὲ βούλωτο</i>
<i>καὶ μὴ ὑπέικοιεν</i>	<i>καὶ εἰ μὴ ὑπέικοιεν</i>
xv <i>ἀνακαλείσθαι</i>	<i>ἀναβαλείσθαι</i>
<i>εἴτε</i>	<i>εἴπερ</i>
<i>πρόσοδον</i>	<i>εἴσοδον</i>
xvi <i>ἔρεσιν ὑποπεσόντες</i>	<i>ἐτη ὑποπεσέτωσαν καὶ</i>

c. xx <i>δεῖ</i>	<i>δοκεῖ</i>
xxiv <i>ζήτων</i>	<i>χρόνων</i>
<i>τοὺς βαθμοὺς τοὺς ὀρισμένους</i>	<i>τοὺς βαθμοὺς ὀρισμένους</i>
xxv <i>ἐπιφορῆσαι</i>	<i>ἐπιφορέσαι</i>

This text has a great similarity to that of Photius¹, which however presents the following variants:—

c. i <i>ἀναπαλαίσαντας</i>	x [<i>ἐπιτραπήναι</i>] <i>αὐτοῖς</i>
ii <i>τούτους συνίδουεν</i>	xiii <i>ἐπισκόποις πόλεως</i>
<i>οἱ τῆς τε [τοῦ ἄρτου]</i>	xiv <i>εἰ δὲ βδελύσσονται</i>
iii <i>ἀνάγκης</i>	xv [<i>τιμῆν</i>] <i>τοὺς κακῶς ὠνησαμέ-</i>
<i>προεξητάσθη</i>	<i>νοὺς [εἴτε]</i>
v [<i>ὁ</i>] <i>προέχων [βίος]</i>	xviii <i>Οἵτινες (tit 1, sed in tit 8</i>
vi <i>οἱ ἡμέραν</i>	<i>ἔλτινες)</i>
<i>πληρώσιν</i>	xxi <i>ἐκώλυε</i>
<i>οἱ τις</i>	<i>[ὀρισμένους] πληρώσαι</i>
vii <i>ἐκάστω . . . ἐξέστω</i>	

Within the group we have these variants in more than one MS:—

c. i <i>ἀναπαλαίσαντας</i> P ₂ * O ₃ O ₆ <i>cum</i>	P ₆ * δ e joh phot etc
ii <i>τούτους</i> O ₂ P ₄ O ₆ V ₆	β P ₇ M ₈ * P ₁₁ V ₄ phot
<i>ἐμβολόντων</i> F ₂ O ₆	P ₈ O ₁ δ P ₁₂ O ₈ P ₁₄ zon etc
iii <i>προεξητάσθη</i> P ₄ F ₂ V ₆	F ₁ P ₇ P ₁₁ V ₄ f phot
vi <i>ἐπιτρεψάντων</i> R ₁ P ₁	
vii <i>ἢ ἐν τόπῳ</i> F ₂ V ₆	F ₁ * V ₂ δ joh
viii <i>τριετίαν</i> O ₃ F ₂	C V ₄ Mon
<i>ὑποπεσάτωσαν</i> R ₁ P ₁ P ₂	R ₂ O ₁ P ₁₁
<i>κοινωνεῖτωσαν</i> V ₁ O ₆	P ₁₀ γ δ V ₄ L R ₆ f joh etc
xiv <i>εἰ δὲ βούλονται</i> R ₁ P ₁ *	β P ₁₂ P ₁₄ zon
<i>εἰ δὲ βδελύσσονται</i> V ₁ O ₆	C γ δ Mon joh phot latt
xv <i>οἱ καὶ [μὴ]</i> R ₁ P ₁ P ₂ O ₃	R ₂ R ₆
<i>πεπραγμένων</i> V ₁ O ₆	δ V ₄ O ₈ P ₁₆ P ₁₇
<i>οἱ τὴν [τιμὴν]</i> P ₂ O ₃ O ₆	P ₁₁
xvi <i>οἱ τῆς [προσφ.]</i> R ₁ P ₂ P ₆ O ₃	
<i>Ὅσοι δὲ incip nou can</i> O ₃ V ₆	R ₂
<i>συν[εγγχευέτωσαν]</i> O ₃ V ₆	
xviii <i>Οἵτινες</i> P ₂ O ₃ O ₆	P ₃ C M ₈ V ₄ P ₁₂ P ₁₄

¹ For whose text, however, we have to rely on the accuracy of Card. Mai's printed edition: cf. p. 141.

² This reading is not significant. The illuminator seeing *τινες* might readily suppose it to be the familiar *Οἵτινες*.

- c. xviii *συστάσεις* O₂ V₅
 xix *Ἐπαγγελάμενοι* P₂ O₂ O₄ δ joh 1 2 4
om *ὡς* R₁ O₃
 xxiv *om* *καί* O₂ P₄ V₁ V₅ V₅ V₄ L f bals
 xxv *ἐπιφορέσαι* R₁ P₁* β Mon* O₄ P₁₄ zon

The following significant readings occur in single MSS:—

- in V₁ c. iii *προσδεχθήσων* *cum* γ bals
 vi *μόνη* R₂ R₅ F₃ δ P₁₂ joh
 vii [*ἴδια*] *δέ* γ
 x *καθιστάμενοι ὅσοι . . .*
διεμαρτύραντο γ (bals)
παρασιωπήσαντες (†R₅*) F₃ bals
 xv [*Περὶ*] *δέ* γ
 xvi [*εἰτα*] *καί* γ P₁₁ f bals
 xvii *προσέταξεν τοὺτους ἐν* bals
 xxi [*ὥρισμ.*] *πληρῶσαι* γ f phot bals (cf δ)
 in O₂ c. v *τριετία*¹ *cum* P₂ C V₂ Mon e f zon bals
 in F₂ c. iii *προσάγεσθαι (1a m.)* *cum* β R₅ O₇ F₃ M₂ M₂ P₁₁ Mon e
 vii *ἐκάστου* P₂* R₂ O₁ P₂ P₁₁ joh 2 3 4 6
 ix *κοινωνείτωσαν* F₁ P₁₀ C R₂ O₁ M₂ V₄ P₁₂ R₅ f
 xv *τῷ κυριακῷ* γ P₁₁ V₄
 xix *ἐπαγγελάμενοι* R₂ P₂ P₂ P₁₁ V₄ L P₁₄
 in O₂ c. ii *λερᾶς* *cum* β P₁₂ e zon
 iv *σφοδρότερον (1a m.)* P₂ P₂* F₁* O₅ V₂
 viii *ἐκάστω . . . ἐξέστω* phot

Among the MSS we notice a close agreement between perhaps the two oldest MSS of all—R₁ P₁, in fact they only differ in two places, c. vii *ἐορτῇ τῇ ἐθν.* R₁ and c. ix *om* *ἐτη* R₁. Thus our two oldest MSS, and they of the tenth century, having been copied from the same archetype (hardly from one another, being of the same age), their text, which is practically α, is carried back to a much earlier date. It is to be marked that these MSS agree with β in two significant places, cc. xiv, xxv. V₅, our latest MS included in the group, is most probably a copy of O₂, as it only varies from it in reading c. iii *προεξη-*

¹ O₂ also reads *τριετιᾶν* in c. viii, Mon. agreeing with it in both places: the readings here probably affected one another.

τάσθη, c. vii ἡ ἐν τόπῳ. In O_3 we see for the first time the undoubted hand of the corrector, viz. in c. v τριετία; and the group further shows how the variants and agreements with other families creep in. Thus a later MS, O_6 (s. xiii), has distinctive readings both of β , γ , and δ , the value of which will be examined later; O_6 also has an emendation of Photius in c. vii (cf. also c. xiv). Lastly, V_1 has a very close agreement with γ , only it retains α 's readings on some most decisive points; it shows a remarkable agreement in these variations and others with Balsamon, cf. the lists on p. 20.

β . This group shows a gradual deflection from α , so that it is difficult to give an exact text, but the following list of variants will show the direction and the degree of the divergence. The MSS are P_3 (s. x) $R_3 R_4 O_4 P_5 P_6 F_1 O_5$ (s. xi) $P_7 P_8 P_{10} C$ (s. xii) V_2 (s. xiii), but in P_5 cc. i-xvi, and in P_8 cc. vi-xviii are wanting, so that they are not counted in the following table.

Variants from α in 11 MSS:—

c. xx δοκεῖ σπιν + P_8 *cum* P_{12} e f zon

in 10 MSS:—

xv εἶπερ $P_3 R_3 R_4 O_4 F_1 O_5 P_7$ } Mon P_{12} e zon { *Congr.*
 $P_{10} C V_2$ } *cum* α P_6

in 9 MSS:—

ii	τούτους $P_3 R_4 O_4 P_6 F_1 O_5$ }	$O_2 P_4 O_6 V_5 P_8$	
	$P_7 P_{10} V_2$ (R_3 τούτο) }	$M_3^* P_{11} V_4$ phot	$P_6 C$
	συνίδοιεν $P_3 R_3 R_4 O_4 O_5$ }	$V_1 O_6 P_{11}$ Mon R_6	
	$P_7 P_{10} C V_2 + P_8$ }	bals	$P_6 F_1$
iii	προσάγεσθαι $P_3 R_3 R_4 O_4$ }	$F_2^* R_5 O_7 F_3 M_2$	
	$F_1 O_5 P_7 C V_2 + P_8$ }	$M_3 P_{11}$ Mon e	$P_6 P_{10}$
xxv	ἐπιφορέσαι $P_3 R_4 O_4 F_1^*$ }	$R_1 P_1^* \text{Mon}^* O_5$	
	$O_5 P_7 P_{10} C V_2 + P_6 P_8$ }	P_{14} zon	$R_3 P_6 (F_1^*)$

in 8 MSS:—

vii	ἀξιῶσαι $P_3 R_3 R_4 O_4 F_1^*$	
	$O_5 P_7 C$	$P_6 P_{10} V_2$
xiv	εἰ δὲ βούλονται $P_3 R_4 O_4$	
	$F_1^* O_5 P_7 P_{10} V_2^*$	$R_1 P_1^* P_{12} P_{14}$ zon $R_3 P_6 (F_1^* V_2^*)$

in 7 MSS:—

- c. ii *λερᾶς* P₃ P₆ F₁ O₅ P₁₀ C
 V₃+P₃ O₅ P₁₃ e zon R₃ R₄ O₄ P₇
 vi *οτι τις* P₃ P₆ F₁ O₅ P₁₀ C V₃ V₃ Mon P₁₃ e f zon bals R₃ R₄ O₄ P₇
 xv *εισοδον* P₃ P₆ F₁ O₅ P₁₀ C V₃ Mon R₃ R₄ O₄ P₇

in 6 MSS¹:—

- xiv *ει [μή]* P₃* P₆ F₁ O₅ P₁₀ V₃ P₃* P₃* R₃ R₄ O₄ P₇ C
 xxiv *χρόνων* P₃ P₆* F₁* O₅ C V₃+P₃ P₃ R₃ R₄ O₄ P₇ P₁₀ (P₃* F₁*)

in 5 MSS:—

- iv *σφοδρoτέρω* P₃ P₆* F₁* O₅ V₃ O₅* R₃ R₄ O₄ F₁* P₇ P₁₀ P₃ C

These readings also are to be noticed:—

- c. ii *της μ. ἄλλης τιμῆς μετέχειν* P₃ V₃* cf R₄ matt
 οτι πάσης F₁ cum P₁₁ R₃
 οτι της [λερᾶς] P₁₀ O₅ δ Mon
 ἄρτου P₃ F₁ P₁₀ P₃ V₄
 iii *περισχεθέντας* P₃ O₁ O₇ δ L O₅ R₄ f joh
 ἐμβαλόντων P₃ F₂ O₅ O₁ δ P₁₃ O₅ P₁₄ zon
 v *κοινωνείωσαν* F₁ P₃ P₁₀ C V₃ P₃ O₇ δ V₄ Mon P₁₃ L f bals
 τριετία P₃ C V₃ O₅ Mon e f zon bals
 vi *μόνη* R₃ V₁ R₃ F₃ δ P₁₃ joh
 αὐτῆς P₃ F₁ C f zon bals
 την της ἐξατίας P₃ F₁ C Mon P₁₃ zon
 vii *ἡ [ἐν τόπῳ]* F₁* V₃ F₃ V₅ δ joh 1 2 4 6
 ἐκάστου P₃* F₃ R₃ O₁ P₃ P₁₁ joh 2 3 4 6
 viii *τριετίαν* C O₅ F₃ V₄ Mon
 ix *μὲν ἔτη τε* R₄ F₁ P₃ P₁₁
 κοινωνείωσαν F₁ P₁₀ C (ητ) F₃ R₃ O₁ M₃ V₄ P₁₃ R₃ f
 x *ἐμαρτυρήσαντο* P₃ F₁* C Mon* L f zon
 xiii *οτι μὴν* O₅ (Bruns)
 πρεσβύτερον C P₁₃ zon
 xiv *βδελύσσονται* C V₁ O₅ γ δ Mon joh phot
 xvi *ἔτη ὑποπεσέτωσαν καὶ* O₅ (Bruns)
 xix *ἐπαγγελλόμενοι* R₃ P₆ P₃ F₃ P₁₁ V₄ L P₁₄
 xxi *[χρόνον]* πληρῶσαι F₁* δ (γ)
 xxii, xxiii *ἐνvert* P₃ P₁₃ e f zon bals matt
 xxiii *Περί* O₄ P₃ C δ P₁₃ e f zon bals

The group seems to fall roughly into two divisions, measured by their divergence from α. Nearer to α we have R₃ R₄ O₄ P₇

¹ Also an itacism c. v. ἀναλήσεως R₄ O₄ F₁ O₅ P₁₀ C+P₃.

which we may call β_1 , and of these R_2 is perhaps the closest to α . Further off we have β_2 , composed of $P_3 F_1 O_5 P_{10} V_2$, among which P_{10} is not so advanced as the others. We notice that these are later MSS, except P_3 , which appears to be the earliest MS of β , and which represents the extreme limit of its variation. P_6 is in a peculiar position, contradicting the order of the group, it has the peculiar marks of β_2 , but not those variations from α which are common to both β_1 and β_2 . F_1 has been much corrected, generally into agreement with α . e. g. c. iv *φαιδροτέρω*, vii *ἐξετάσαι*, x *ἐμαρτύραυτο*, xiv *εἰ δὲ μὴ βούλ.* xxiv *ἐθνῶν*, xxv *ἐπιφορῆσαι*: but cf. also c. vii *ἡ ἐν τόπῳ*, xxi *add πληρῶσαι*. O_5 is the MS whose peculiar readings in c. xiii, xvi are followed by Bruns.

The first list of readings sufficiently marks off β as a family by itself, distinct from the other families. The only traces of connection are in the second class of readings, and they occur mostly in later MSS, are many of them easy corruptions or obvious mistakes (cf. especially c. ii *ἄρτου*, c. vi *τὴν τῆς ἐξαετίας*, c. xix *ἐπαγγελλόμενοι*, which are clearly transitional readings), and in any case are too sporadic to interfere definitely with the division into families.

The only seeming exception is P_8 , which in only twelve canons has several coincidences with δ , c. ii *τούτοις*, iii *περισχεθέντας*, *ἐμβαλόντων*, v *κοινωνείωσαν*, xxiii *Περὶ*, cf. also v *ἀνακλήσεως*, ii *θέλοιεν*, xix *ἐπαγγελλόμενοι*. The deficiencies of P_8 may perhaps be supplied by C. These two MSS agree remarkably in their contents, order, etc., so that probably they are copies of the same MS: this presumption is confirmed by the striking agreement in their readings, e. g. the insertion of the same scholion in c. i, *θέλοιεν, τούτοις, τριετία, κοινωνείωσαν, Περὶ, etc.*, and so, confirming the tendency of P_8 , C alone of β reads *βδελύσσονται* in c. xiv. On the other hand, C does not read *περισχεθέντας, ἐμβαλόντων, ἐπαγγελλόμενοι*, which is important as showing that these readings may have been variants from his copy made by P's scribe. Nor indeed was the scribe of C very careful, as is shown by the following

c. xvi [Περὶ] δέ R ₆ R ₂ O ₇ F ₃		O ₁ P ₉
[εἴτα] καὶ R ₆ R ₂ O ₇ F ₃	V ₁ P ₁₁ f bals	O ₁ P ₉
in 3 MSS :—		
iii προσάγεσθαι R ₆ O ₇ R ₂ (R ₂ def)	F ₂ * β M ₂ M ₃ P ₁₁ Mon e	O ₁ P ₉
vii ἐκάστου . . . ἔστω R ₂ O ₁ P ₉		R ₂ F ₃
xviii οἱ καὶ R ₆ O ₇ F ₃		R ₂ O ₁ P ₉
xx προσάγοντας R ₂ * R ₂ O ₁ * O ₇		R ₂ * O ₁ * P ₉ F ₃

Compare also :—

c. ii οἱ τῆς [ἱερᾶς] O ₇	cum P ₁₀ δ Mon	
ἄρτου ἢ ποτηρίου O ₁ O ₇		
τοῦ ἄρτου καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου καὶ τοῦ ἀναφέρειν R ₂ * F ₃		
ἄρτου ἢ ποτήριον P ₉	P ₃ F ₁ P ₁₀ V ₄	
τούτους P ₉	O ₃ P ₄ O ₆ V ₆ β M ₂ P ₁₁ V ₄	
iii περισχεθέντας O ₁ O ₇ (R ₂ def)	P ₃ δ L O ₂ R ₆ f joh	
ἐμβαλόντων O ₁	F ₂ O ₆ P ₃ δ P ₁₃ O ₆ P ₁₄ zon	
προεξηγάσθη P ₉	P ₄ F ₂ V ₆ F ₁ P ₁₁ V ₄ f phot	
ὅτε εὕρισκαιο R ₆ F ₃		
οἱ εὕρισκ. εἰ add συμπράττοι P ₉ O ₇	joh 1 2 3 6 cf δ	
v οἱ δ [μετὰ ταῦτα] R ₂ P ₉		
κοινωνήσωσαν P ₉ O ₇ (ητ)	F ₁ P ₉ P ₁₀ C V ₂ δ V ₄ Mon P ₁₃	
	L f bals	
τριετία F ₃ *	O ₃ P ₃ C V ₂ Mon e f zon bals	
φιλανθρωπεύσασθαι O ₁ * O ₇		
vi μόνη R ₆ F ₃	V ₁ R ₂ δ P ₁₃ joh	
οἱ ἔτη R ₆ F ₃	P ₁₁	
vii ἐστὶ [δοκιμάσαι] O ₇	P ₉ * δ e joh (cf f bals)	
viii ὑποπεσάντων R ₂ O ₁	R ₁ P ₁ P ₃ P ₁₁	
ix κοινωνήσωσαν R ₂ O ₁	F ₂ F ₁ P ₁₀ C M ₂ V ₄ P ₁₃ R ₆ f	
x παρασιωπήσαντες R ₆ * F ₃	V ₁ bals	
xiii χωρεπισκόπους R ₆ *	P ₁₁ L f bals	
χωρεπίσκοπος O ₁ *	O ₆	
πρεσβυτέρους [πάλ.] R ₆ F ₃	δ joh	
xiv [καὶ] εἰ [μή] P ₉ *	β ₂	
xv πεπραμμένων O ₁		
xvi οἱ ἐξεταζέσθω . . . φιλανίας R ₂ O ₇ *		
Ὅσοι δέ incip nou canon R ₂	O ₂ V ₆	
xviii ἀποβαλέσθαι R ₂ O ₁	δ	
στασιάζωσι R ₂ *	C Mon P ₁₃ L O ₆ f	
xxi συντίθεσθαι P ₉		
xxv οἱ δεχθῆναι R ₂ O ₇ *		

Of this family R_5 gives us the extreme type, and it is the earliest MS (s. x)¹. F_3 is a copy of R_5 , for though they have both been much corrected, yet in all its readings F_3 only varies from R_5 in a long omission in c. iii, *ελοίνα* in xviii, *εφορήσαι* in xxv, while a corrector has added *ῆ* in vii, and *τριετία* in v. As the readings in this group show transitional features, so the MSS themselves have undergone much correction, especially R_5 , O_1 , O_7 , and that too in significant places. With regard to other groups γ gives us many of δ 's readings, especially in O_7 , which is the latest MS and also full of variations, many entirely wrong. P_9 seems to show a little tendency towards β , while it and O_1 are perhaps nearest to α , though the latter shows some of δ 's readings. V_1 is a MS very close to this group, being quite half way between α and γ . We also notice that several of γ 's readings are supported by Balsamon, while we remember that V_1 shows still closer agreement with his text.

δ consists of M_1 M_2 (s. xii, xiii) M_3 P_{11} P_{12} (s. xiii) V_3 (s. xiv), all of which, except P_{11} , have a very marked agreement, so much as to point to a single archetype. P_{11} possesses only about half of the distinctive readings of this group, but its own variations are so wide and so independent that it can be assigned to no other group. In consequence of the similarity of the text of John of Antioch, the readings of his MSS (for which cf. p. 141) are also given.

Variations from α :—

tit. <i>ἀγίων καὶ</i>	ex P_{11} M_3	
i <i>ἀπαλαίσαντας</i>		cum joh P_2^* O_5 O_6 P_6^* e phot
om [λειτουργεῖν] τι	P_{11}	joh 4 <i>Discrepant</i> joh 1 2 3 6
ii <i>ὡσαύτως ἐπιθύσαντας</i>		joh
om τῆς [ἱερατικῆς]	P_{11}	joh 2 3 6 P_{10} O_7 Mon joh 1 4
θέλουεν	P_{11}	joh 2 4 6 P_3 CR_5 O_7 Mon joh 1 3
ἀφελεῖν	P_{11}	joh 1 2 4 6 (zon-com) joh 3
iii <i>ἰδίῳ</i>		joh 2 3 4 (joh 1 <i>σουδαίων</i>) joh 6

¹ So also the extreme types of α and β are found in their earliest mss R_1 P_1 and P_2 respectively.

c. iii	περισχεθέντας		{ joh 2 3 4 6 7 P ₅ O ₁ O ₇ L O ₅ R ₅ f	joh 1
	ἐμβολόντων	εω P ₁₁ M ₂	{ joh 4 F ₁ O ₅ P ₅ O ₁ P ₁₂ O ₅ P ₁₄ zon	joh 1 2 3 6
	βρώματα	P ₁₁	joh 4	joh 1 2 3 6
	οτι και [ἐκωλύθ.]	P ₁₁	joh 2 4 6 e zon	joh 1 3
	διὰ τινων ἄγνωστων		joh 2 3 4 6	joh 1
	περεπεσόντες		joh	
	add ἡ συμπράττοι		{ joh 4 : add συμπράττοι joh 1 2 3 6 7 P ₅ O ₇	om εὐρίσκ. joh συμ joh 7
iv	βίαις			joh
	ἐπιθυσάντων	{ P ₁₁ ἐπιθυ- μησάντων	joh 1 2 3 4	joh 6
	[μὲν] οὖν		joh 1 3 4 6	joh 2
	δύο ἔτη (tr)	P ₁₁	joh 1 2 4 6	joh 3
v	οτι [δοσε] δέ	P ₁₁	joh 4	joh 1 2 3 6
	ἀνακλήσεως	V ₂	joh 2 3 4 et al mss	joh 1 6
	κοινωνήτῳσαν		{ joh 2 3 6 F ₁ P ₅ P ₁₀ CV ₂ P ₅ O ₇ V ₄ Mon P ₁₂ L f	joh 1 4
vi	μόνη		joh V ₁ R ₂ R ₅ F ₂ P ₁₂	
vii	ἡ [ἐν τόπῳ]		joh 1 2 4 6 F ₂ V ₂ V ₂	joh 3
	ἐστὶ [δοκιμάσαι]		joh O ₇ e (f bals)	
viii	κοινωνήτῳσαν	P ₁₁	{ joh 1 2 3 6 V ₁ O ₅ P ₁₀ γ V ₄ L R ₅ f	joh 4
ix	τῇ [ἀλλῃ]	P ₁₁		joh
x	καὶ [μετὰ ταῦτα] (μετὰ δέ M ₂ P ₁₁)			joh
xii	[προάγεσθαι] δεῖν	P ₁₂	joh 1 2 3 4	joh 6
xiii	πρεσβυτέροις πόλεως	P ₁₁	joh 2 3 4 5 6 8 R ₅ F ₂	joh 1
	ἐκάστη		joh 1-8 γ omn codd latt	
xiv	βδελύσσονται (ἐβδελύσσονται P ₁₁)		{ joh 1 2 3 5 6 8 V ₁ O ₅ Cγ Mon phot omn codd latt	joh 4
xv	πεπραγμένων		joh 2 3 V ₁ O ₅ V ₄ O ₅ P ₁₂ P ₁₇	joh 1 2 6
xvi	ἔτη [ἕτερα]	P ₁₁	joh 1 2 4	joh 3 6
xviii	ἐγκαθεστῶτας	P ₁₁	joh 4 6	joh 1 2 3
	ἀποβαλέσθαι	P ₁₁ M ₂	R ₂ O ₁	joh
xix	ἐπαγγελάμενοι	{ P ₁₁ (ἐπαγ- γελόμ.)	joh 1 2 4 P ₂ O ₅ O ₅	joh 3 6
	οὔτοι [τόν]		joh	
xxi	σπουδασῶν ¹	P ₁₁ M		joh

¹ This points to a very close connection between M₁ M₂ P₁₁ V₂.

c. xxi πρώτος	P ₁₁	joh 3	joh 1 2 4 6
[χρόνον] πληρώσαι		{ joh 1 2 3 4 F ₁ ^a , ef V ₁ γ f phot bals	joh 6
xxiii Περί	P ₁₁	{ joh 1 4 O ₄ P ₄ C P ₁₂ e f zon bals	joh 2 3 6
ἐκπληρώσαι	P ₁₁		joh
xxiv τῆς [ὑποπτώσεως]	P ₁₁	joh 1 4	joh 2 3 6
xxv ἡ [δὲ ἀδελφὴ ἡ]		joh	

Besides σπουδασῶν the following itacisms, etc. occur: c. i τὸ δοκεῖν M M₂ M₃ P₁₁ V₃, iii προσεξετάσθη M₁ M₂ M₃ V₃, xiv ὑπήκοιεν omn. xxiv συνηθίαις, φαρμακίων M₁ M₂ M₃ V₃, xxv προσεφθάρει omn. exc. P₁₁. Further, in cc. v and xxi scholia of M₁ have crept into the text of M₃, and in c. xxv M₂ M₃ read ἐπιφορτίσαι, probably due to a marginal note of M₁ (or of M₁'s archetype) ἐπιφορτήσαι.

The following variations in the group are to be noticed:—

c. iii τοιαύτη M ₂ P ₁₁		
προσάγεσθαι M ₂ M ₃ P ₁₁ cum	joh 6 β R ₅ O ₇ F ₂ Mon e	
ix κοινωνήτωσαν M ₂	joh 3 4 6 F ₂ F ₁ P ₁₀ C R ₂ O ₁ V ₄ P ₁₂ R ₄ f	
ἐπιτηρείσθω P ₁₂ V ₃	R ₂	
xxiii πρότερος M ₁ P ₁₂ V ₃	F ₁ [*]	
πρώτος M ₂	joh 4 F ₂	
xxiv om και [καθάρσει] V ₃	O ₂ P ₄ V ₁ V ₅ V ₄ L f	
xxv ἐπιφορτίσαι M ₂ M ₃	joh 4 8	

To finally characterize P₁₁, besides all the differences from the group already given, we have further variations, agreeing more or less with joh¹:—

c. ii τούτους συνίδουσιν	cum joh 2 β etc
vii ἐκάστου	joh 2 3 4 6 F ₂ R ₂ O ₁ P ₂
ix τὸν [ἀδελφούς]	joh 2 3 4 6
xiii χωρεπισκόπους	joh 2 3 8 R ₅ [*] L f
xvi ὑποπτ. ἐχέτ. (tr)	joh 2 3 6
om και [γυναικας]	joh 3
xvii προσεύχεσθαι	joh f
xxi φθοροποιεῖν	joh 3

¹ In all these readings (except one) P₁₁ agrees with joh 3.

c. xxii	πρὸς τῷ τέλει	cum	joh
xxiv	ἀνερευνήσει		joh 2 (3)
	om εὐχῆς		joh 2 3 4 P ₁₂

with other MSS, besides readings already given:—

c. ii	om πάσης	cum	F ₁ R ₆
iii	προεξητάσθη		P ₄ F ₂ V ₅ F ₁ P ₁ V ₄ f
vi	om [δύο] ἔτη		R ₆ F ₂
ix	μὲν ἔτη (τρ)		R ₄ F ₁ P ₁
xv	τῷ κυριακῷ		F ₂ γ V ₄
	om τὴν [τιμὴν]		P ₂ O ₂ O ₄
xvi	[εἴτα] καί		V ₁ γ f bals

Besides all these variations it has 28 peculiar readings, or mistakes, which it would be superfluous to enumerate.

The text of δ is not identical with that of John of Antioch. All the MSS of John examined reject the readings βίαις (c. iv) τῇ ἄλλῃ (c. ix) καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα (c. x) ἀποβαλέσθαι (c. xviii) ἐκπληρῶσαι (c. xxiii), and have further variants of their own in c. x τοὺς ἀδελφούς, xvii προσεύχεσθαι, xxii πρὸς τῷ τέλει. We have four MSS agreeing against δ in c. i om τι, ii ἐμβολόντων, βρώματα, v om δέ, and in the new reading ἐκάστου (c. vii), while we have the agreement of 3 MSS against δ in at least 9 other readings.

It is important to examine the relation of the Latin versions to δ. Owing to the nature of these translations, as well as the minute character of the variations in the Greek, it is in most cases impossible to tell the Greek original. However, in the following instances we can compare them. All the Latin translations¹ agree with c. xiii ἐκάστη, xiv βδελύσσοιτο. The *Prisca* has *primum constitutum* in c. xxi (=πρῶτος): there is also much agreement with *πρεσβυτέροις* in c. xiii, but the Latin texts themselves are very uncertain (cf. p. 187 f.). δ may be supported by the following translations, in c. ii *per aliquorum ignorantiam* isid. *propter quorundam ign.* dion., in c. xvi *altero quinquennio* isid. (?=πέντε ἔτη ἔτερα), in

¹ Also all the MSS examined. Over fifty MSS have been consulted as to the readings in cc. xiii, xiv, and other important variations.

c. xix *professi, polliciti* isid., *quanti promiserunt prisca* (? = ἐπαγγελάμενοι), in c. xxiii *explere* dion. (? = ἐκκληρωσαι).

On the other hand the Latin has *sacro* in c. ii (? = ἱερᾶς), Isidore and Dionysius both have *minis tantum* (μόνον) in c. vi, and *antiqua* in c. xxi (? = πρότερος). Dionysius and some MSS of Isidore have c. iii *aliquid cibi polluti* (= βρώμα τι); *ἕτερα* (c. xvi) is omitted in *in qua quinquennio durantes* dion; while there is no trace in any translation of c. vii ἢ [ἐν τόπῳ], xii δεῖν, xix οὔτοι, xxv ἡ δὲ ἀδελφή. Thus weighing both sides together the Latin is against δ.

Later MSS. After the preliminary remarks on the influence of editors etc. (pp. 156-159), not much need be said about the later MSS; their evidence for or against a reading will not in itself be of much weight; to their new readings is due the mass of variations in the *apparatus criticus*, and it will be sufficient in a few words to characterize the MSS.

V₄ is really an α MS, but it is marked by many interpolations (cf. p. 156) and some readings of other families, e.g. c. ii ἄρτου, xv τῷ κυριακῷ, πεπραγμένων, xxi συντίθεται, xxv ἐὰν προσεφθάρη.

Mon. is a more careful and accurate MS; it agrees generally (but not altogether) with β, cf. c. iii προσάγεσθαι, vi om τις, xv εἶπερ, εἰσοδον, xxv ἐπιφορέσαι, also x ἐμαρτυρήσαντο; but it reads βελύσσειντο in c. xiv.

P₁₃ is marked mainly by agreement with Zonaras' text; it has incorporated some of his ἐρμηνεῖαι and prefixed his preface, and its text shows the same influence.

R₈, which ends in the 18th canon, distinctly belongs to α, but has the reading περισχέοντας in c. iii with several late variations.

The MSS of e (L O₈ P₁₄) and f (P₁₅ P₁₆ P₁₇) present respectively distinct types of text, perhaps due to copying. These types are marked by confusion of the old family *differentiae* with the addition of a number of new readings. Thus e reads c. ii ἱερᾶς, iii προσάγεσθαι, vi om τις, xv εἶπερ, xx δοκεῖ with β, but on the other hand c. i ἀναπαλάσαντας, iii om καί, xxiii

Περί with δ: while f, the latest MSS in date, present at least a dozen quite new variations, e.g. c. ii *om* *ιερατικῆς*, iii *ἐμβολόντας*, *om* *τοῦ συμβάντος*, vi *μηδέ, ἔννοιαν*, ἀφορισθέντι, etc. Three of such readings, c. xiii *διὰ γραμμάτων*, xiv *εἰ δὲ μὴ ὑπελκοιεν*, xviii *τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου*, also occur in Blastar's *Synagema*, and this with other coincidences (cf. p. 185) seems to show that this text is due to his influence.

On the whole all these MSS can be best derived from the text of α, to which family V₄ P₁₃ R₆ certainly belong, while Mon. perhaps has closer affinities with β.

Having summarized the characteristics of the various types of text, it remains to settle their claims to represent the original. In the consideration of which we may disregard the later MSS and pass back at once to the earlier families, and returning in the reverse order, we come to δ first.

δ. The MSS of this group are few in number and late in date, none before the xiith century. One MS, P₁₁, is so full of errors, mistakes, and peculiar readings, as to be practically worthless—a peculiar version of its scribe, while the remaining MSS so strikingly agree that, if some of them are not copies of one another, yet all can very easily be assigned to one archetype. The text of this archetype is most definitely marked off from all the other groups; it has in the short 25 canons 45 variations from α, of which about 24 are entirely peculiar to itself, and are not met with elsewhere (i. e. in MSS of the councils: for 19 of these readings are to be found in MSS of John of Antioch). These two considerations at first sight would incline us to put δ at once aside like e, f, or Zonaras' and Balsamon's texts: for, though we attached little weight to the number and date of the MSS, it would seem incredible that so many readings of the original text should not only entirely disappear from the widely varying MSS, but also be unknown to the numerous commentators.

The case, however, is altered by the fact that for many of

these peculiar readings there is independent and early support, viz. that (a) of the Latin versions, and (b) of John of Antioch's *Synagoge*¹. This at least shows that some of these various readings were already in existence in the sixth century. How far then does this testimony carry us?

(a) The relation of δ and the Latin texts has already been examined, with the result that they by no means agree. We must bear in mind the division between the few variants of δ which have other support, and the characteristic readings peculiar to itself. It is chiefly in the former that it has the support of the Latin, e.g. in c. xiv βελύσσοιντο, xiii ἐκάστη, and perhaps πρεσβυτέροις. Of the second class of readings only a few have some partial support, e.g. c. xxi πρῶτος in the Prisca, perhaps c. xvi ἕτερα in Isid., c. xix ἐπαγγειλάμενοι (of the former class) in Isid. and the Prisca, and διὰ τινων ἄγνοιαν in c. iii; while the Latin is directly opposed, either one or all of the versions, to e.g. c. i ὁμ τι, c. ii ιερατικῆς, iii βρώματα, iv μὲν οὖν, vi μόνη, vii ἡ ἐν τόπῳ, xii δέιν, xix οὔτοι, xxv ἡ δὲ ἀδελφὴ ἡ, and xix ἐπαγγειλάμενοι (*promittentes*, Dionysius).

(b) There remains then only John of Antioch; and here we have a general agreement not only in the text, but also in the order of the councils, for the δ group differs from all the other MSS in inserting Sardica after Neocaesarea, and this order was due to John, who was the first to introduce the Sardican canons into the canon law of the East. The words 'general agreement,' however, have been used advisedly. The text of the *Synagoge* itself has not yet been critically examined; not only do there appear to have been two very distinct editions, but our collation of but a few MSS has already shown great differences existing between the various MSS. Where there is agreement between joh 1 2 3 4 6, there we frequently find disagreement with δ, as is shown on p. 172; and, taking the MSS singly, the lists on pp. 162-172 give us about 24 variants from δ in

¹ Συναγωγὴ κανόνων ἐκκλησιαστικῶν εἰς πενήκοντα τίτλους διηρημένη, printed in Justel. *Bibliotheca Iuris Canonici Veteris*.

joh 1, 25 in joh 2, 29 in joh 3, 20 in joh 4, 29 in joh 6. Hence the texts of δ and of the *Synagoge* are by no means identical. On the other hand, it is remarkable that all the readings of δ except five are to be found in some MS of the *Synagoge*. What then are we to say of this general agreement? do δ and the *Synagoge* agree, because δ represents the original text which John found and worked upon, or because John in compiling his *Synagoge* was neither careful to cite the canons with extreme literal accuracy nor scrupulous in the use of an editorial hand, and the result of his work has exercised a reflex influence on a group of MSS of the councils? Our first presumption, on finding some peculiar readings in a few MSS coincide with those of a previous editor, is to assign them to his influence—a *vera causa* has been found: such indeed would be our treatment of variations which appear first in the text of Photius, Zonaras or Balsamon. This presumption is increased on finding so distinctive and numerous a class of variations: this definite class and the want of connecting links seem to point to a definite assumption of the task of editing; especially will this be borne out, if we find that many of the variants do possess the marks of emendation, and that too in the direction of improvement of the Greek. Further, if δ was after all the original text, how are we to account for its comparative disappearance and the growth of the other families? There is no gradual line of divergence between δ and the other groups, so that if δ is not due to the editorial influence of John, a must have been the handiwork of Photius. But already in the tenth century we find three distinct types of text, each apparently independent but all equally separated from δ ; did they all develop from Photius' text, or must we assume some more editors?

(c) These are however only presumptions, and it would be easy to argue and make out a case for whichever alternative we wish to adopt. But there is one court of appeal left, the readings themselves. Among these we, first, find some (a) certainly wrong readings (and here the support of John of

Antioch is generally wanting), e. g. c. iv βίαις, ix τῇ [ἄλλῃ ἐξαετία], x καὶ [μετὰ ταῦτα], xv πεπραγμένων joh 2 3¹; and (b) some probable mistakes c. i om [λειτουργεῖν] τι joh 4, ii om τῆς [λειτουργίας] joh 2 3 6², iii βρώματα joh 4, iv [μὲν] οὖν joh 1 3 4 6 with v om δέ joh 4, xxi πρῶτος joh 3, probably due to the following δεύτερος, xxiii Περί joh 1 4 for the unusual Ἐπί. Secondly, we have signs of an editorial hand (α) in exegetical additions c. vii ἐστὶ [δοκιμάσαι] joh, xvi [ἐτη] ἔτερα joh 1 2 4, xxi [χρόνον] πληρῶσαι joh 1 2 3 4, xxv ἡ δὲ ἀδελφὴ [ῆ] joh; and (β) in improvement of the Greek, making it more idiomatic, e. g. in the preference for the aorist, c. ii ἀφελεῖν joh 1 2 4 6, iii ἐμβάλοντων joh 4 (but v κοινωνήτωσαν joh 2 3 6, viii κοινωνήτωσαν joh 1 2 3 6), xviii ἀποβαλέσθαι, xix ἐπαγγειλόμενοι joh 1 2 4; in the use of compounds c. ii ἐπιθύσαντας joh, iv ἐπιθυσάντων joh 1 2 3 4, xviii ἐγκαθεστῶτας joh 4 6, xxiii ἐκκληρῶσαι³. Cf. also c. iii περιπεσόντες, iv μὲν οὖν, xix οἱτοί. Μόνη (c. vi) is apparently a correction for the less obvious μόνον; c. vii ἡ [ἐν τόπῳ] is an error that may have easily crept in or been adopted.

Thus the examination of the readings peculiarly characteristic of the group⁴ would show that they are not original. For with regard to the style of the Greek, if the question arises between the ecclesiastical fathers at the Galatian Ancyra and John who was educated for, and for a long time pleaded at, the bar in Antioch (whence his name *Scholasticus*), we must give the preference to the style of John. Thus we are driven to accept the alternative that where they agree the peculiar characteristics of δ must be due to his influence, that therefore the value of δ is not high, and that in fact it has no claim to represent the original text; a conclusion which was our primary presumption afforded by the lateness of the MSS.

¹ σπουδασῶν in c. xxi is, of course, an error, but it only points to the close connection of M, M₁, P₁₃, V₁.

² v. *infra* p. 185.

³ On the other hand c. i ἀναυαλίσαντας.

⁴ The readings, not peculiar to the group, c. iii περισχέθεντας, xiii πρεσβυτέρους ... ἐκάστη, xiv βδελύσσονται will be examined later.

Against this conclusion we must not be prejudiced by the idea that we are defending a 'textus receptus' against superior critical claims, for α can hardly be called a 'textus receptus,' nor has δ any 'codex vaticanus' older than all existing MSS: on the other hand the archetype of R₁ P₁ (p. 163) can carry back the text of α to the sixth century, or the age of John. To conclude the argument, can we account for the genesis of δ? The fact that two of the MSS (M₂ M₃, p. 193) came from Magna Graecia conveys a valuable hint. The δ MSS, as we have seen, come from a single archetype: this may have been the work of a scribe writing in Italy, who, as in Italy Greek MSS would not abound nor could the Greek canon law be in constant reference, may have had but one copy and that possibly inferior or corrupt. Writing in Italy, his greater familiarity with the Latin versions would have suggested emendations where the Greek was difficult, as in cc. xiii and xiv; and again writing in Italy, the popular authority on the councils would be John of Antioch rather than the schismatic Photius, and very probably from a MS of the *Synagoge* our scribe may have introduced still further emendations of his possibly corrupted text.

γ. The claims of γ are not strong. For, first, the MSS have nearly all undergone a great deal of correction, especially in the significant places: e.g. R₆ in c. ii, xiii (χωρεπισκόπους), xiv (-λυσσο- in βελεύσσοιτο), and there are marks of erasure in c. vii εἰ... χρή, x... σιωπήσαντες, xvi ἐξεταζέσθω... δέ, xx προ. ἄγοντας; O₇ in cc. vii, xiii, xvi, xxv; and O₁, cf. espec. xxv ἐὰν... σπροσεφθαρῇ, vi μετοικισίας, xxi προσάγοντας. The MSS are further characterized by many special readings of their own which are obviously wrong, espec. O₇, cf. e.g. c. v οἱ μεταξύ, δεχθήσονται, φιλανθρωπεύσασθαι, χρόνος τοῦ βίου, vii add ἐστίν, transpositions in cc. vii and viii, c. xvi κοινωνήτωσαν τῶν προσευχῶν; and O₁ which is most carelessly written, cf. e.g. c. ii φεύοντας, iv ὁσούμενοι, xiii χωρεπίσκοπος, xv ἐπάλεισαν, xiv κανώνι and tit. κανόναι. Thus the MSS show signs of having been written by careless and inaccurate scribes.

Secondly, γ can hardly be original for there is a difficulty in finding a definite text. There is indeed a definite class of passages in which we may expect to find variations, but the degree of variation is very gradual: in fact the group seems to be composed of a number of MSS in a transitional stage of variation towards a type of which R_6 perhaps represents the extreme limit. In accordance with this we find that often where they vary from α , the MSS do not agree among themselves, cf. e. g. the different readings for c. ii $\alpha\rho\tau\omicron\nu \eta \pi\omicron\tau\eta\rho\iota\omicron\nu$, c. xiii $\pi\rho\epsilon\sigma\beta\upsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu\varsigma \pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\omega\varsigma$, and the variations of orthography in c. xiv $\beta\delta\epsilon\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\sigma\omicron\iota\nu\tau\omicron$, $\beta\delta\epsilon\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\sigma\omicron\iota\nu\tau\omicron$, $\beta\delta\epsilon\lambda\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\sigma\omicron\iota\nu\tau\omicron$; so in c. xxi P_9 also varies from α , but gives $\sigma\upsilon\nu\tau\acute{\iota}\theta\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$. Again, the readings themselves are often transitional: thus $\alpha\rho\tau\omicron\nu \eta \pi\omicron\tau\eta\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ P_9 is half way between $\alpha\rho\tau\omicron\nu \eta \pi\omicron\tau\eta\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ and $\alpha\rho\tau\omicron\nu \eta \pi\omicron\tau\eta\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ $O_1 O_7$, R_6^* giving a further advance $\tau\omicron\upsilon \alpha\rho\tau\omicron\nu \kappa\alpha\iota \tau\omicron\upsilon \pi\omicron\tau\eta\rho\iota\omicron\nu \kappa\alpha\iota \tau\omicron\upsilon \alpha\nu\alpha\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\iota\nu$; $\pi\epsilon\pi\rho\alpha\mu\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\nu$ O_1 lies between $\pi\epsilon\pi\rho\alpha\mu\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\nu$ and $\pi\epsilon\pi\rho\alpha\gamma\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\nu$; O_1 also shows how another reading arose $\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\nu \pi\rho\omicron\sigma\epsilon\phi\theta\acute{\alpha}\rho\eta$ (v. *infra*) and in c. x gives a decided mark of transition in $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\nu\omicron\iota \delta\sigma\omicron\iota \kappa\alpha\theta\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\alpha\nu\tau\alpha\iota \dots \delta\iota\epsilon\mu\alpha\rho\tau\acute{\upsilon}\rho\alpha\nu\tau\omicron$, which makes no sense.

But in the readings in which there is more or less agreement does γ show signs of retaining the original text? In c. xiii $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\acute{\alpha}\delta\sigma\tau\eta$ and xiv $\beta\delta\epsilon\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\sigma\omicron\iota\nu\tau\omicron$ and the rejection of $\pi\rho\epsilon\sigma\beta\upsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu\varsigma$ in c. xiii γ agrees with δ and other authorities; and these readings will be examined later on their own merits. But among γ 's special readings are

(a) Certain mistakes, as c. iii $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\delta\epsilon\chi\theta\acute{\eta}\tau\omega\sigma\alpha\nu$, unless the fathers committed an anacoluthon, iv $\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\omega\nu\alpha\iota\tau\omega\sigma\alpha\nu$, xx $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma$ (in $R_6^* R_2 O_1^* O_7$) and vi $\chi\omega\rho\iota\varsigma \eta \mu\epsilon\tau\omicron\iota\kappa\eta\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$ (cf. *infra*).

(b) Obvious emendations are to be found in c. vii $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\acute{\alpha}\delta\sigma\tau\omicron\nu \dots \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\omega$, xiii $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\sigma\kappa\acute{o}\pi\omicron\iota\varsigma$ (probably due to Photius), xxi $\acute{\alpha}\delta\delta \pi\lambda\eta\rho\acute{\omega}\sigma\alpha\iota$ (with δ , but in a different place), xxv $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\phi\omicron\rho\eta\sigma\alpha\iota$, where in F_3 $\acute{\epsilon}\phi\omicron\rho\eta\sigma\alpha\iota$ the μ has dropped out, and xxv $\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\nu \pi\rho\omicron\sigma\epsilon\phi\theta\acute{\alpha}\rho\eta$. Here some scribe did not see that the canon was a decision on a particular case, and so he generalized it

by inserting an *ἐάν*. The scribe of O₁ inserted the full phrase *ἐάν τις*, and it was only afterwards seen that *τις* occurred twice. Some of the Latin translators were guilty of the same liberty: cf. Isid. *si quis sponsam habens*, Prisca *si desponsatus aliquis*, but Dionysius renders *quidam sponsam habens*, which is the reading too of the oldest form of the Isidorian version.

(c) Other readings appear not to be original as their genesis can be explained. c. vi *χωρίς ἡ μετοικησέας* indeed is hard to account for. Is it a reminiscence of Can. Nicaen. xi *ἡ χωρίς ἀφαιρέσεως ὑπαρχόντων ἡ χωρίς κινδύνου*? Or does the Latin also point to some word having dropped out in the ordinary text: cf. Isid. *aut bonorum ablatione aut transportationis poena deterriti*, Dionys. *aut privatione facultatum territi aut demigratione*? We can however see the origin of γ's reading in c. x—*ἐὶ ἐμαρτύρῃ* might very easily become *διεμαρτύρῃ*, giving us the text of O₁ *δοιοι καθίστανται . . . διεμαρτύρῃ*. But this would necessitate further changes: it might be emended by the insertion of a second *δοιοι* after *καθίστανται*, or by the change of *καθίστανται* into *καθιστάμενοι*. A confusion between these emendations would give us both the reading of Balsamon *δοιοι καθιστάμενοι δοιοι* (in bals I the second *δοιοι* has been erased) and that of γ *καθιστάμενοι δοιοι*.

c. xxi *συντρίθεται* can be explained, the change of *τούτῳ* into *τοῦτο* in a difficult phrase (omitted by the Latin translators altogether) caused the change of *συντρίθενται* into *συντρίθεται*. On the other hand the change of *το* into *τω* will explain the change of *τῷ κυριακῷ* for *τὸ κυριακόν* in c. xv, though the Latin Isid. Dionys. *ad iura ecclesiastica (ius ecclesiasticum) revocari* seems to point to *τῷ κυριακῷ*: but the early Isid. cod. monac. 6243 has *ut ius ecclesiasticum revocarent* and the Prisca *revocare atque repetere dominicam*.

Thus as in the case of β internal evidence has again verified primary presumptions, based in this case on the character of the scribes and their work, and we accordingly set aside the claims of γ.

β. Before examining the value of this group we must

notice, and work upon, the division of this family into two classes according to the extent of their variation from α . P_5 and P_8 are fragmentary, and the character of P_6 is peculiar, otherwise we have two distinct groups β_1 R_3 R_4 O_4 P_7 and β_2 P_3 F_1 O_5 P_{10} V_2 , of which the latter possesses all the variations from α in the former with additional variations of its own.

β_2 is marked off from β_1 by six readings: c. ii $\lambda\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$, vi om $\tau\iota\varsigma$, xiv $[\kappa\alpha\iota]$ $\epsilon\iota$ $[\mu\eta]$, xv $\epsilon\iota\sigma\omicron\delta\omicron\nu$ and we may add iv $\sigma\phi\omicron\delta\rho\omicron\tau\epsilon\rho\omega$, xxiv $\chi\rho\acute{o}\nu\omega\nu$. The last four are entirely without other support (except $\epsilon\iota\sigma\omicron\delta\omicron\nu$ in Mon., $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\epsilon\iota$ $\mu\eta$ in P_4^* , and $\sigma\phi\omicron\delta\rho\omicron\tau\epsilon\rho\omega$ in O_6^*) and mark β_2 out as the extreme of β ; so that if we do decide in favour of β , the extreme isolation of β_2 is against its being the original form. Further, of the readings themselves— $\lambda\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$, which will be examined later, is probably a correction, $\sigma\phi\omicron\delta\rho\omicron\tau\epsilon\rho\omega$ (? through $\sigma\chi\acute{\eta}\mu\alpha\tau\iota$ $\sigma\phi\alpha\iota\delta\rho\omicron\tau\epsilon\rho\omega$) a mistake, while $\chi\rho\acute{o}\nu\omega\nu$ (of which there is no trace elsewhere) is probably a substitution of a reference to astrology for a reference to paganism, when obsolete; against the omission of $\tau\iota\varsigma$ in c. vii we have the Latin *quodsi quodlibet mortis periculum* (isid.) *si autem aliqui periculum* (prisca), *si quod autem periculum* (dion.).

β_1 which remains is very close to α , in fact it has only seven variations from it: c. ii $\tau\acute{o}\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ $\sigma\upsilon\nu\lambda\delta\omicron\iota\epsilon\nu$, iii $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\acute{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$, vii $\acute{\alpha}\xi\iota\omega\sigma\alpha\iota$, xiv $\epsilon\iota$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\iota\nu\tau\omicron$, xv $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\pi\epsilon\rho$, xx $\delta\omicron\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}$, xxv $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\phi\omicron\rho\epsilon\sigma\alpha\iota$. And some of these readings receive much support among later MSS and editors, and that the stronger because the more varied. The readings have good internal probability, $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\pi\epsilon\rho$ and $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\acute{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ ¹ are indecisive, and with two of them ($\epsilon\iota$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\iota\nu\tau\omicron$ and $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\phi\omicron\rho\epsilon\sigma\alpha\iota$) agree the best MSS of α , viz. R_1 P_1 . Indeed the difference between α and β_1 is so slight that we should not divide them into two families but

¹ $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\acute{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ would seem to be the more natural term for the first enrolment of a laic in the $\kappa\lambda\acute{\eta}\rho\omicron\varsigma$, $\pi\rho\acute{o}\tau\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ for his further advancement. But it is difficult to tell the usage of the canons, as in each case we are likely to have the same variation, and at present we are without critical editions. However in c. xii all the MSS agree in $\pi\rho\acute{o}\tau\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ except M_1 . In c. iii R_3 O_7 read $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\acute{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$, but this is discounted by their $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma$ in c. xxi.

for the fact that β_2 agrees with β_1 in its variations: this shows that β_1 is already on the path of divergence and for that reason is not original—either α or β_2 must be the original starting point. Again the character of P_6 agrees with this conclusion, for discarding β_1 's variations from α it has those of β_2 ; it is much more likely that it was a short cut from α rather than a double corruption of β_1 in the way of loss and addition. Once more one of the readings of β_1 is against it, viz. $\delta\epsilon\iota\omega\sigma\alpha\iota$; it may be original, but it has entirely dropped out, being without any support elsewhere, unless indeed the *Prisca cognoscere* (cod. vat. reg. 1997) *agnoscere* (bod. mus. 103) points to it. The Latin also seems to be against $\delta\omicron\kappa\epsilon\iota$ in c. xxi *reddatur, oportet*. However in any case α and β_1 are so close that each variation must be examined on its own merits; the fact however of α 's being on the whole nearest to the original giving a slight presumption against the evidence of β .

α only now remains. But before deciding on its authority, there is an objection to be considered. If we were inclined to think the text of δ influenced by John of Antioch, why should we not ascribe the text of α to the influence of Photius, who according to Card. Mai made not only a *σύνταγμα* of the canons according to their subject matter, but also a *συναγωγή* of the councils arranged chronologically, especially as the normal order agrees with his list as against that of John of Antioch? The full text of Photius exists apparently in only one MS, printed by Mai, so that we cannot argue from it with any certainty. However in that text we have several variations from α , just of the number and character we should expect from an editor reissuing an existing text. The full list is as follows: c. ii *om τῆς τε*, iii *ἀνάγκης, προεξητάσθη*, iv *προέχων*, vi *om ἡμέραν, πληρώσιν*, x *αὐτοῖς*, xiv *μετὰ τῶν κρεῶν*, xxi *ἐκώλυε*—which we may consider errors; and, what is more important, c. vii *ἐκάστω* . . . *ἐξέστω*, xiii *ἐπισκόποις*, xv *add τοὺς κάκως ὠνησαμένους* certain, and c. ii *τούτους συνίδειν*, xiv *βδελύσσοντο*, xxi *[ὠρισμένους]*

πληρῶσαι possible emendations; c. i ἀναπαλαίσαντας and vi om
tis are indecisive. These variations seem to be enough to
mark the practical independence of α.

Thus the result of a long and tedious investigation seems
to justify our assumption at starting, viz. that α is the closest
representative of the original text. For

(1) The MS authority for α is as good and as early as that
for the other groups.

(2) We have found no imperative claim on the part of any
other group to represent the original.

(3) The text of α serves best for the groundwork of the
other groups and MSS: and indeed this is the strongest
argument on behalf of α. It seems to hold a central position
between the other texts. From α we can trace a gradual
divergence to the extreme types of β and γ, whereas β, γ and δ
are each marked by a number of peculiar readings which have
to be discarded before we reach another family, i. e. the text
would so to speak have to first reach a common groundwork,
resembling α, before the other families could be developed. If
among the later MSS, of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries,
and even in one or two of the twelfth century, we find the con-
necting links between β, γ and δ increase, yet they do not be-
come so numerous as to outweigh their connection with α. So
too, widely as the later MSS vary from α, it is easier to assume
α as the basis than β, γ or δ. Take, for instance, P₁₁ through
its numerous individual readings occupying a unique position,
and widely differing from δ to which it is assigned: it is easier
then to assume α as the groundwork of P₁₁ rather than β or γ,
as it has none of their peculiar readings. So with P₆ which
occupies a peculiar position in β, its origin is easiest to be
found in α. This argument is borne out by examination of
the individual readings, in all of which it is, if not necessary,
at least as easy to derive the various readings from α than
vice versa.

(4) Lastly, whereas, as it has just been remarked, β, γ, δ are
each marked out by a class of peculiar readings, there are none

such to be found in α , i. e. there is no reading of α which is not supported by at least one other group. On the other hand again, there are very few readings which have the support of two groups against α . They are cc. viii *κοινωνήτωσαν*, xiii *ἐκάστη*, xiv *βδελύσσονται* occurring in $\gamma \delta$, with perhaps two imperfect agreements c. xiii the rejection of *πρεσβυτέρους πόλεως*, xxi the addition of *πληρῶσαι*.

Thus our conclusion seems justified. But considering the lateness of our MSS, it would be irrational to suppose that α has preserved the original text absolutely unimpaired. Hence there are many passages where the readings must be examined on their own merits. Such would be (1) those where there is a consensus of authorities against α , and (2) readings where the inner nucleus of β (β_1) varies from α . Thus it will not be out of place to examine some readings individually.

c. i *ἀναπαλαίσαντας* is found in $P_2^* O_3 O_6 P_6^* \delta e$ Joh. Ant. Photius, Aristenus, and in Zonaras and Balsamon in their commentaries, but not in their text. *ἐπαναπαλαίω* is such an unusual compound (it is not given in Liddell & Scott) that it is likely to be original: the great support it has prevents its being a mistake, while the commentators support *ἀναπαλ*, because that is the usual phrase. On the other hand, the partiality of δ for compounds (p. 177) gives weight to its omission of *ἐπὶ* here. Notice also c. i *ἐπιθύσαντες*, *ἐπαναπαλαίσαντες*, c. ii *θύσαντες*, *ἀναπαλαίσαντες*.

c. ii *ιερατικῆς* $\alpha R_3 R_4 O_4 P_7 \gamma \delta V_4$ Mon R_6 joh phot bals
ιεῤῥᾱς $O_6 P_3 P_6 F_1 O_5 P_8 P_{10} CV_2 P_{13} e$ zon.

Here *ιερατικῆς* is undoubtedly right, especially as β_1 here agrees with α . The reading of β_2 *ιεῤῥᾱς* is however supported by all the Latin versions *sacro*, with one important exception, cod. monac. 6243 (the older Isidorian) *ab omni altaris ministerio*. There is an obvious pragmatic reason for the correction into *ιεῤῥᾱς* which will account also for its appearance in the later MSS, $O_6 P_{13} e$, and avowedly indeed in Pitra's

text; that is, the apparent assigning of a priestly function to deacons.

But the words mean no more than that these deacons are to take no part in *the* *ιερατικὴ λειτουργία* of the Holy Eucharist, cf. the Freising MS *altaris ministerio*. Hence also the omission of *τῆς* (in *§* etc.) is clearly wrong, it is not that the deacons are not to perform any priestly services, but not to take part in *the* priestly service. At the same time in the Canons *ιερατικός* seems to have had a wide extension of meaning: in the Apost. Canons it is apparently coextensive with the whole *κληρος*, including the minor orders; cf. c. lxii (and l) *εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος ἢ διάκονος ἢ ὅλως τοῦ καταλόγου τοῦ ιερατικοῦ . . . εἰ δὲ λαϊκὸς εἴη* with c. lxiix *εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος ἢ διάκονος ἢ ὅλως τοῦ καταλόγου τῶν κληρικῶν . . . εἰ δὲ λαϊκός*: but in the Canons of Laodicea *ιερατικός* is confined to the higher orders (still, we notice, applied to deacons) and distinct from *κληρικός*; cf. c. xxiv *οὐ δεῖ ιερατικούς ἀπὸ πρεσβυτέρων ἕως διακόνων καὶ ἐξῆς τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς τάξεως ἕως ὑπηρεῶν κ. τ. λ.* and c. xxvii *ιερατικούς ἢ κληρικούς ἢ λαϊκοὺς καλουμένους*. Cf. also Can. Apost. viii, xiv, xvi, xvii, Laod. iii, iv, xix, xxx etc., Ant. iii.

c. ii *τούτοις συνεῖδοιεν*. Here we have obviously not the right reading: *τούτοις* would seem to be right as with most MSS of *α* we have *γ δ* and most of the later authorities, but some MSS of *α* agree with *β* in *τούτους*: *συνεῖδοιεν* which is very strongly supported may be for either *συνῖδοιεν* the reading of *β*, which agrees with *τούτους*, or for *συνειδέειν* for which we have Zonaras, and the Latin *conscii sint* (isid. dion.).

c. iii *περισχισθέντας*. The difficulty of this reading is probably sufficient to account for its emendation into *περισχισθέντας* the reading of *δ* and John of Antioch, and which as a likely correction occurs in *O*₁, and also later MSS *P*₈ of *β*, *O*₇ of *γ* and *L* *O*₈ *R*₆ f. Further *περισχισθέντας* is not so entirely without parallels as to force us to conclude it to be an error. Zonaras understands *τοὺς χιτῶνας*, and so it is not uncommon;

Stephanus gives e. g. ἐσθῆτα περισχίσαι out of Plutarch, εἴ τις τὰ ἱμάτια περιέσχισεν out of Lucian. But we have as well a striking instance of its use absolutely, in Epictetus *Dissert.* i. 25 : περισχισον αὐτόν. τί λέγεις αὐτόν; τὸ ἱμάτιον λάβε, περισχισον. Cf. Schweighäuser's note. The Latin translators give no help, they were apparently quite unable to understand the Greek : cf. their renderings : *perseverante violentia ad id usque perducti sunt ut manus eorum adprehensas et violenter adtractas super sacrificia imponerent* isid., *tentos adque in manibus ferro violenter mittentes* prisca, *eo usque adstricti sunt ut manus eorum comprehendentes violenter adtraherent et funestis sacrificiis admoverent* dionys.

c. iii ἐμβαλλόντων, ἐμβalόντων. Here as elsewhere the very common variation between the present and aorist causes confusion among the groups. Cf. the variants κοινωνεῖωσαν in cc. v, viii, ix, ἐπαγγεῖλάμενοι in c. xix, and ἀποβαλέσθαι in c. xviii. We notice however that α is uniformly on the side of the present δ of the aorist (except κοινωνήτωσαν in cc. v, viii). ἀποβαλέσθαι has very little support ; and the frequent reading ἐπαγγελομένοι points to the present being original. Again, if κοινωνεῖωσαν best represents the continued state of κοινωνία, the aorist may equally well denote the entry upon that state of κοινωνία. The dropping out of σα may also explain the very frequent reading κοινωνήτωσαν. On προσάγεσθαι, προάγεσθαι, lower down, cf. p. 181, n.¹

c. vii. The variety of readings here serves to show the superiority of α's text, and it is a good canon for testing the character of the Latin versions. The readings are :—

μετὰ τῆς προσφορᾶς ἕκαστον τῶν ἐπισκόπων δοκιμάσαι α

”	”	ἐκάστου	”	”	F ₂ P ₁₁
”	”	ἐκάστῳ	”	ἐξέστω	δοκ. O ₆ phot
”	”	ἐκάστου	”	ἐπτω	” R ₂ O ₁ P ₉
”	”	ἕκαστον	”	ἐστὶ	” O ₇ δ joh 1
”	”	ἐκάστου	”	”	” P ₁₁ ^a joh 2 46
”	”	ἕκαστον	”	δοκιμ. ἐστὶ	R ₆ zon 2

ἕκαστον μετὰ τῆς προσφορᾶς τῶν ἐπισκόπων δοκιμάσαι P₁₃ zon 1 3

” ” ” ” ἐστι δοκιμ. e

” ” ” ” ἐστι τὸ δοκιμ. f bals

μετασχεῖν τῆς προσφορᾶς ἕκαστον τὸν ἐπίσκοπον δοκιμάσαι F₁^a

It δοκιμάσαι et ἐξετάσαι O₇

Latin: *Placuit eos biennio subiacere et sic suscipi quia oportet post oblationem unumquemque episcopum eos probare et uitam singulorum agnoscere* [cognoscere vat. reg. 1997] (prisca). ita tamen utrum (ut utrum) cum oblatione recipiendi sint an ad solam communionem admitti debeant unusquisque episcoporum examinent uitae eorum praeteritae et praesentis habita consideratione (isid). unusquisque episcoporum probet uita uniuscuiusque habita consideratione (old form of isid). utrum uero cum oblatione singuli episcoporum probantes uitam eorum et singulos actus examinent (dionys).

On c. x διάκονοι κ.τ.λ. cf. p. 180.

Questions of interpretation have drawn attention to the various readings in c. xiii, which will merit a closer examination. In the Greek we have—

{ πρεσβυτέρους πόλεως α β V₄ Mon R₆ e f joh 1 zon 1 bals 1 3 4
 { πρεσβυτέροις ” R₅ F₃ δ (exc P₁₁) joh (exc 1) cum joh 8
 { πρεσβύτερον ” C P₁₃ zon 2 3 bals-com matt
 { διὰ πρεσβυτέρων ” P₁₁
 { ἐπισκόποις ” R₂ O₁ P₉ O₇ phot (cf. note ², p. 150)
 { ἐτέρῳ α β V₄ Mon P₁₃ R₆ e f phot zon bals
 { ἐκάστη γ δ joh latt

Cf. also χωρεπισκόπους R^{*}₅ P₁₁ L f joh 2 3 8 bals 2 -πος O₅ O₁^{*}
 -πον P₁₃ bals-com matt

Latin Versions—

Early Isidorian: cod. monac. 6243, s. viii (Freising MS)

Vicariis episcoporum quod greci ¹corepiscopos dicunt non licere presbyteros uel diaconos ordenare: sed nec ²presbyterum ciuitatis sine episcopi praeceptum amplius aliquid iuberet uel sine auctoritatem litterarum eius in unaquaque parrochia aliquid agere.

cod. viresb. mp. th. f 146

¹ corepiscopum

² presbyteris

Isidorian: cod. paris. 3848 A, s. viii, ix (Quesnel's MS)

^{1 2} *Vicarios episcoporum quos greci corepiscopos* ³ *dicunt non*
⁴ *licere presbyteros uel diacones ordinare: sed nec* ⁵ *presbyteris*
ciuitatis sine episcopi praecepto ⁶ *amplius aliquid imperare uel*
sine ⁷ *auctoritate litterarum eius in unaquaque parrocia* ⁸ *aliquid*
agere.

¹ Tit. in codd. paris. 3848 A, 3842 A *Vicariis* [os 3842 A] *episcoporum non*
licet ordinationes facere ² *Vicariis* oriel. 42^a aed. flor. 82^a paris. 3858 c
³ *uocant* veron. 60 ⁴ *licet* oriel. 42 *licet eis uel* veron. 60 ⁵ *presby-*
teris paris. 3848 A cum oriel. 42 (s. xii) paris. 3836 (s. viii) 4279 (s. ix) barber.
xiv. 52 (s. ix, x) aed. flor. 82 (s. x) paris. 1455 (s. x) 3858 c (s. xiii) veron. 60
(s. vii) sangerm. 936 (s. vi, vii) paris. 1451 (s. ix) veron. 59 (s. vii) flor. laur.
1554 (s. x-xii) *presbyteros* paris. 1454 (s. ix, x) 3842 A (s. ix, x) ⁶ *ali-*
quid amplius veron. 60 oriel. 42 ⁷ *litteris eius* laur. 1554 ⁸ *agere*
aliquid veron. 59 *agere quicquam* paris. 1451 *alig. agere in un. par.* laur.
1554.

The Prisca: cod. bod. mus. 103, s. v, vi (Justel's MS)

Vt non sine episc. liceat quemquam ordinare ab his qui
dicuntur corepiscopi.

¹ *Corepiscop. non licere* ² *praesb. aut diac. ordinare, sed neque*
³ *praesb. ciuitatis sine iussione episcopis sed cum* ⁴ *eisdem litteris*
eundi ad singulas parrocias.

cod. vat. reg. 1997 (Chieti MS) s. viii ¹ *corepiscoporum* ² *pres-*
biterum aut diaconem ³ *presbiterorum* ⁴ *om. eisdem.*

Dionysius Exiguus: first edit., cod. vat. pal. 577, s. viii, ix.

Corepiscopo non licere presb. aut diaconos ordinare: sed nec
praesbiteros ciuitatis sine episcopi praecepto vel litteris aliquid
agere in unaquaque paraecia.

second and Dionysio-Hadrian edition.

Chorepiscopis non licere presbyteros aut diaconos ordinare:
sed nec presbyteris ciuitatis sine praecepto episcopi uel litteris in
unaquaque parrochia (paroecia).

So, of the MSS of the 2nd edition, codd. bod. mus. 103 (s. x,
with a chorep.), paris. 3837 (s. ix); paris. 1536 (s. x) reads *pres-*
biteri; 3845 (s. ix) *prbt*; 3848 (s. xiii) *prbr.* In the Dionys-
Hadr. MSS, with the text are codd. paris. 8921*, 11710 (s. viii),
monac. 6244*, 14422, 14517, 6242*, paris. 3840, 3843, vallic.

A. 5 (of s. ix), vat. reg. 1043, monac. 14008, and bod. misc. 421^a (of s. x); monac. 5258 (s. x) reads *presbyteris . . . aliquid agere*; paris. 8921 (s. viii), 11711 (s. ix), both second hand, *presbyteris* (or 8921^a) . . . *aliquid imperare etc.*; monac. 14517, 6242, vat. reg. 1043 add second hand *aliquid agere*, or (monac. 6242) *imperare etc.* Codd. paris. 8921^a (s. viii), brit. mus. arund. 393 monac. 6355 (s. ix), 3860, bod. misc. 421^{*} (of s. x), monac. 18217, 6241, 3852 (of s. xi) read *presbyteros civitatis*: monac. 6244, second hand, and 14407 (s. x), first hand, read *presbyteros . . . aliquid agere*; monac. 3860 A (s. x) and 5525 (s. xii) *presbyteros . . . amplius aliquid imperare etc.*

The Bobbian Dionysius, cod. ambros. s. 33 (s. ix) reads *presbytero . . . aliquid agere* with *aut amplius imperare licebit* in the margin.

The *Concordia* of Cresconius agrees with the Dionysio-Hadrian version in 3 MSS examined, with these variations: cod. vat. pal. 579 *presbyteros*, monac. 6288 *presbytero*, bod. misc. 436 *presbyteris*.

Now if we argued from the Greek MSS alone, from their numbers and authority, we should without hesitation accept the text of α: χωρεπισκόποις μὴ ἐξεῖναι πρεσβυτέρους ἢ διακόνους χειροτονεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴν μὴδὲ πρεσβυτέρους πόλεως, χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπιτραπῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μετὰ γραμμάτων ἐν ἑτέρᾳ παροικίᾳ. But it has been of late assumed (e.g. by Lightfoot¹ and others) as beyond question that the true reading is . . . πρεσβυτέροις πόλεως . . . ἐν ἐκάστῃ παροικίᾳ (the text of δ); apparently on the ground of (1) the support of the Latin, and of (2) the presumption that the countenance thus given to presbyterian ordination caused the corruption of the text, and perhaps, we may venture to add, through ignorance of the actual state of MS authority.

Against this assumption we may argue that (1) the evidence of the Latin versions is over-estimated. For (a) from the remarks made above the Latin versions are not helpful for

¹ *Dissert. on the Chr. Ministry in his Philippians*, p. 232.

our purpose; as translations they are very inferior¹, and it is but seldom that the Latin clearly shows of which of two variants it is the translation. (b) Such is the case with the present passage: the evidence of the Latin as to the original is altogether indecisive. The *Prisca* is no help; the Isidorian translator paraphrases the canon, so whether he renders *presbyteris* or *presbyteros* shows us nothing. When we come to Dionysius the MS evidence does seem to point to *presbyteris* being his reading; but there is much confusion, and in face of the many MSS which disagree, it is impossible to speak with certainty. In any case, the great confusion in the Latin versions, which is so very easy to account for without the necessity of a 'tendency,' practically nullifies their evidence on this point. (c) If the Latin did point to *πρεσβυτέρους*, it need not represent more than one or two archetypes. We know that Greek MSS of the Canons were not very common in the West; even a Pope (Zosimus) in 418 had not an accurate copy of the Nicene canons; and it is not necessary to suppose that the translators had an infallible copy before them.

(2) The second argument based on the anti-presbyterian tendency of the scribes is not borne out by any reference, allusion, or appeal. The fact of presbyterian ordination itself in early times is hypothetical; the few instances alleged by Dr. Hatch² have been answered by Mr. Gore³; while soon after the time of Ancyra, as soon as evidence begins to increase, we find episcopal ordination the absolute rule. And yet this presbyterian canon remains in the canon law of the Church, and it is never alluded to or quoted by any opponents of the Church's order, any anti-episcopal reformer, such as Aerius, or any supporter of a supposed ancient church order. Further, the 'tendency' has not been universal; the obnoxious

¹ It is quite conceivable that they might have translated *πρεσβυτέρους* *presbyteris*, thinking that it depended on *ἐπίσκοποι*.

² *Bampton Lectures*, lect. iv.

³ *Christian Ministry*, app. note E.

reading has remained in some Greek MSS and in many Latin MSS; its inconsistency with the unquestioned law and order in the West was neither perceived nor felt.

(3) On the other hand we have the direct authority of the Greek MSS. Here we have an unanimous agreement of α and β supported by later authorities. In favour of *πρεσβυτέροις* we have only δ and two MSS of γ, R₆ F₃; of these F₃ is probably a copy of R₆, while the δ MSS (P₁₁ here reading *διὰ πρεσβυτέρων*) may easily be reduced to one archetype. The value of δ's evidence has been examined at length, while γ, the family to which R₆ F₃ belong, has absolutely no claim to represent the original. In this canon its tendency to variation comes fully into play, cf. *χωρεπισκόπους* (R₆*) -ος (O₁) μήτε (R₂). Further, it is this very group and this group alone which with Photius admits the undoubted emendation *ἐπισκόποις*. If *πρεσβυτέροις* were the original, it is hard to believe that one emendation in particular, *πρεσβυτέρους*, should have prevailed with such unanimity. On the other hand, *πρεσβυτέρους* being original, we have the variations we should expect, *πρεσβυτέροις*, *ἐπισκόποις*, *διὰ πρεσβυτέρων* in γ and δ, and later *πρεσβύτερον*. However, both γ and δ agree unanimously with the Latin and other authorities in *ἐκάστη*, which may be the right reading.

(4) The variants can be more easily derived from α than *vice versa*. E. g. *ἐκάστη* gives as good sense with *πρεσβυτέρους* as *ἐτέρῃ*, hence it is hard to see why a change from an original *πρεσβυτέροις* to *πρεσβυτέρους* should have caused a change from the accompanying *ἐκάστη* to *ἐτέρῃ*. On the other hand, *πρεσβυτέροις* with *ἐκάστη* is better than *ἐτέρῃ*, hence a change from an original *πρεσβυτέρους* into *πρεσβυτέροις* might easily change the original *ἐτέρῃ* into *ἐκάστη*.

Again, we have an easy explanation of the readings of γ and δ. The scribes of the archetypes of these groups made the very easy mistake of writing *πρεσβυτέροις* for *πρεσβυτέρους*. This made emendation necessary, hence some γ MSS substitute *ἐπισκόποις*; one δ MS gives *διὰ πρεσβυτέρων*. Other late

scribes and Zonaras, who had seen these variations now established, to make it clear write *πρεσβύτερον*.

(5) If *πρεσβυτέροις* be right and *ἀλλὰ μὴν μηδέ* translated, as is right and as Dr. Lightfoot insists, 'nor even,' then it is implied that city presbyters ranked higher than chorepiscopi, which is most improbable. Chorepiscopi attended councils, had the *χειροθεσίαν ἐπισκόπων* and at least claimed to ordain presbyters (Can. Antioch x); cf. also Can. Nic. viii *τόπον ἡ χωρεπισκόπου ἡ πρεσβυτέρου*.

(6) The text of α gives a very good sense, both with the correct translation of *ἀλλὰ μὴν μηδέ*, and without limiting the first *πρεσβυτέρους* to *πρεσβ. χώρας* (as by Routh, against which Lightfoot protests). There are constant conciliar prohibitions of bishops ordaining in other dioceses: how likely it is that country bishops should have been guilty of the same presumption, especially when the boundary line of two *παροικίαι* ran through obscure country districts (*χῶραι*) at a distance from the *πόλεις*! The fathers of Ancyra intend to forbid such ordinations by country bishops *ἐν ἐτέρῃ παροικίᾳ*. This raises another debated question—might country bishops ordain *town* presbyters within the limits of *their own παροικία*, i.e. the *παροικία* of the bishop of the *πόλις* to which their country districts (*χῶραι*) were attached? Canon xiii, then, prohibits this also by the way: 'Chorepiscopi may not ordain (any) presbyters or deacons (of town or country)—but not even town presbyters (in their own parish) without the permission of their (town) bishop in writing—in another parish: *ἀλλὰ μὴν . . . γραμμάτων* being an afterthought. Perhaps however *χωρὶς . . . γραμμάτων* applies to both cases, ordination in the *ἐτέρῃ παροικίᾳ*, and ordination of town presbyters in their own parish: if so then *τοῦ ἐπισκόπου* will include both the bishop of the neighbouring *παροικία* and their own town bishop. *ἐκάστη*, however, has very strong support; γ and δ are unanimous and there is no trace of *ἐτέρῃ* in any Latin version; it may be right. Then if we adopt our former translation *ἐν ἐκάστῃ παρ.* will belong to the parenthesis, and the fathers

having entered upon a new subject have forgotten to complete their original prohibition with an ἐν ἐτέρῃ παρ.; or if χωρὶς . . . γραμμάτων belongs to both clauses ἐν ἐκάστη παρ. will also do so without any difficulty.

c. xiv εἰ δὲ μὴ βούλονται α (P₁^a P₂ O₂ O₃ P₄ F₂ V₅) R₃ P₆ F₁^a
V₂^a V₄ L O₃ R₆ f joh 4 bals matt
εἰ δὲ βούλονται R₁ P₁ * β (P₃ R₄ O₄ F₁^a O₆ P₇ P₁₀ V₂^a)
P₁₃ P₁₄ zon
εἰ δὲ βδελύσσονται V₁ O₆ C γ δ Mon joh 1 2 3 5 6 8 phot

The Latin versions support εἰ δὲ βδελύσσονται, viz. Isid. *quod si tantum (in tant.) eas abominabiles iudicauerint (putauerint)*; Dionys. *quod si in tantum eas abominantur*. The Prisca is too abbreviated to give any help, cf. the Chieti MS: *placuit ut tangerent et si sic non obaudient canonem, placuit cessare*. In only one MS (cod. veron. 63 'epitome hadr.') out of over 50 has any trace been found of another reading: *quod si noluerint et in tantum eas abhominabiles iudicauerint*.

Here as in c. xiii, but much more decisively, we have γ and δ against α and β, and at first sight the reading seems the right one and it receives wide support, the Latin, John of Antioch, Photius, and some MSS in α and β.

On the other hand (1) βδελύσσονται is much the easiest reading: it is the word generally used in this connection, cf. Can. Apost. lii, Gang. pref., i, ix, xiv, xx; and familiar to the scribes from its use in the N. T.: cf. Rom. ii. 22, Apoc. xxi. 8, βδέλυγμα in S. Matt. xxiv. 15 (*et parall.*), Apoc. xvii. 4, 5, xxi. 27, βδελυκτός in Tit. i. 16. (2) The orthography varies very much, βδελύσσονται, βδελύσσονται, βδελύσσονται. (3) Against βδελύσσονται we have α and β, while the general decision against γ and δ weakens their authority here. (4) If βούλονται was the original reading we can understand the confusion with εἰ βούλονται, εἰ δὲ [μὴ] βούλονται, [εἰ] μὴ ὑπέκκειν, but with an original βδελύσσονται the ground of confusion is to a great extent removed.

Between εἰ δὲ βούλονται and εἰ δὲ μὴ βούλ. it is hard to

decide. However, (1) as in c. xxv R₁ P₁ agree with β: (2) β, γ, δ agree in the absence of μή: (3) εἰ δὲ βουλ. is much the hardest reading; we must supply οὕτως κρατεῖν ἑαυτῶν (or ἀπέχεσθαι with Zonaras), the οὕτως being explained by ὥς μηδὲ κ.τ.λ.: (4) while μή is a very obvious correction, and so is inserted in V₂ F₁ by a second hand. Hence the reading of β seems preferable.

The variations in c. xv τῷ κυριακῷ, πεπραγμένων, c. xxi τούτῳ συντίθεται, the addition of πληρώσαι—have been already alluded to (pp. 179, 180).

As a concluding test of the accuracy of the MSS it would be well to refer to c. xxv. Here α and β agree in ἐπιφορῆσαι or ἐπιφορέσαι, one of which is most probably original, and, as in c. xiv, the two oldest MSS of α R₁ P₁ agree with β which is a presumption in favour of β's reading ἐπιφορέσαι. In γ we have ἐμφορῆσαι, an obvious emendation, but with γ's usual correction and inaccuracy—in O₁ εμ and η are corrections, O₇* reads ἐπιφορῆσαι, in F₃ the μ has dropped out. The best MSS of δ agree with α, ἐπιφορῆσαι, but M₂ M₃ and joh 4 8 have adopted ἐπιφορτίσαι (a scholion in M₁). Lastly, among the late MSS we have a new variant, ἐπιφωρᾶσαι in f.

APPENDIX I.

THE SYRIAC VERSION.

IN the Text and Essay account has been taken of the Latin version alone, but since writing the above I have been enabled to give some contributions from other versions also. We have in Pitra's *Analecta Spicilegio Solesmensi*, vol. iv, a Syriac version from a MS in the Paris Library, cod. 62, saec. viii, and the Latin translation (P) is given below. This we can supplement by a translation (M) of a MS of the same version in the British Museum, cod. add. 14,529, which has been very kindly translated for the essay by Professor Margoliouth: the date of this MS is given as saec. vii or viii, but the version must have been made at a time when the office of chorepiscopus had become unfamiliar; cf. the title of c. xiii. An inspection of almost any canon will show that M follows the Greek more closely and is much more literal than P, a result which cannot be wholly due to the greater literalness of the Latin translation (cf. notes on cc. ii, iii, xiii, xiv, xv). Both versions are liable to errors of translation; besides a few enumerated below we find, in P—c. iii *βοῶντάς τε κ.τ.λ.* translated *eo quod . . . clamitarent*, xv *ἀπολαβεῖν emptoribus restituere*, xxiv *ἐπὶ ἀνευρέσει φαρμακείων ut obiecta deperdita reperiant*, in c. xiv the first *ei βούλουτο* is omitted, while the translator seems to have misread or corrected the conclusion of c. vii, reading *τότε* for *τὸ δέ*: in M we have—c. iii *τὰ ὑπάρχοντα* and *ἡ προλαβούσα* omitted, v *πρὸ πάντων δὲ ὁ βλος* translated *omnium conversatio*. Both versions again show an *epexegetical* or explanatory tendency: in P, cf. c. x *οὕτως μένειν, ἐπιτραπήναι*, xi *αὐτῶν* made to mean *raptores*, in xiii the addition of *licet celebrare*, in xxii of *integram vitam*. But especially is this the case with M, cf. particularly the explanation of *τοῦ ἄρτον ἡ ποτήριον ἀναφέρειν* in c. ii, c. iii *βρῶμά τι . . . δεξαμένους = aliquid cibi . . . attulere ori eorum*, c. viii to explain *μετὰ τῆς προσφορᾶς simulac recipiantur* is added, in c. x *κατάστασις* and *μετὰ ταῦτα* are fully explained, and *καταδεξαμένους*

modified by *eo quod tacuerint*, cf. also *primum . . . postea* in c. xiv, *mensuram xx annorum* = *ἡλικίαν ταύτην* in c. xvi.

With regard to the text they generally follow α, with the important exceptions of c. xiii *ἐκάστη*, xiv *βδελύσσονται*, and some agreements with γ. Besides these they read *συνίδουσιν* in c. ii, and we notice the following renderings or mistakes: in c. xviii *καθεστῶτας* is made transitive, while in xvii *λεπρώσαντας* is intransitive; *ἐνθα* in xviii is also translated wrongly, *ut* or *quales*; c. xxi *καὶ τοῦτ᾽ συντιθένται* = *quibus adhaeret praesens synodus* or *et cum hoc termino consentimus*, in the same canon *τοὺς ἐρισμένους* is qualified wrongly by *modo*, *supra*. We notice also that *οἱ χειμαζόμενοι* (c. xvii) are those *qui probantur, qui tentantur a daemoniis*.

There are no traces of any of β's special readings (p. 164): *lepās*, *σφοδρότερον*, *οτι τις* (c. vi), *ἀξιώσαι* (except perhaps in *faciat hoc*, M), *εἰ δὲ βούλονται*, *δοκεῖ*, *χρόνων*.

The version has indeed a close connection with γ (cf. p. 167). It definitely agrees in making cc. iv, v into one canon, in c. xiii *ἐκάστη*, xiv *εἰ δὲ βδελύσσονται*, xv *τῇ κυριακῇ*, xxi *add πληρῶσαι*, xxv *ἐὰν προσεφθέρῃ*; c. x *qui ordinandi sunt, qui futuri sunt* may point to *καθιστάμενοι*; P seems to have found *χωρίς* in c. vi, *absque tormentis*. But these readings are of the nature of corrections and would agree with the exegetical character of the version; and, on the other hand, we have clearly *ἀρτὸν ἢ ποτήριον* in c. ii, *δευμαρτίραντο* in x, *ἢ* is not omitted in iii, and in xiii *πρεσβυτέρους πόλεως* seems to have been the reading translated (cf. the note on the canon: Mr. Turner of Magdalen College suggests it as possible that the original ran *ἀλλὰ μὴν μηδὲ πόλεως* omitting *πρεσβυτέρους* altogether, and that this was the reading translated by M).

With δ (cf. p. 169) the Syriac agrees in the variations mentioned above in cc. xiii, xiv, also in xxi *add πληρῶσαι*, and in iv the Syriac represents *ὅσοι-μὴν οὖν*; further M has a few more similarities—c. iii *recta et pulchra* may point to *ἡ συμπράττοι*, xix *qui professi sunt* to the aorist, and xii *decere* may be a translation of *δεῖν*. But these are all, and the remaining variations of δ of which we can speak with certainty are clearly rejected, viz. c. i *οτι τε*, iii *περισχεθέντας* (at least M gives *et scissa sunt vestimenta*), vi *μόνη*, vii *ἢ ἐν τόπῳ*, ix *τῇ ἀλλῇ*, xv *πεπραγμένων*, xvi *ἐτη ἕτερα*, xxi *πρώτος*, xxv *ἢ δὲ ἀδελφῇ ἢ*, while P omits *ἡ συμπράττοι* in c. iii, and has *ἐπαγγελλόμενοι* in xix, and both seem to read *πρεσβυτέρους* in c. xiii (but see above for M).

To sum up, the Syriac practically is a version of α: its evidence as to the readings in cc. xiii, xiv of course is important, but on the

whole its tendency to agree with γ will only show that if δ represents a western recension of the canons, γ represents the emendations current in Antioch and the East.

TEXT.

PARIS. COD. 62 (P).

Iterum canones xxiv qui Ancyrae in Galatia conditi fuerunt a synodo ibi adunata. Canones isti Nicaenis canonibus priores sunt tempore. At propter auctoritatem magnae sanctaeque synodi Nicaenae primo loco descripti sunt Nicaeni canones.

En nomina episcoporum qui in Ancyrae synodo adunati sunt: Vitalius Antiochiae, Marcellus Ancyrae, Agricolaus Caesareae, Lupus Tarsi, Basilius Amasiae, Philadelphus ¹ Heliopoleos, ² Eustathius Nicomediae, Heraclius Zoloni, Petrus Iconii, Nunechius Laodiceae, Sergianus Antiochiae in Pisidia, ³ Epiraeus Pergae, Narcissus Neroniadis⁴.

Isti porro episcopi, cum congregati fuissent, infra descriptos canones definierunt et sancerunt.

BRIT. MUS. COD. ADD. 14,529 (M).

Synodi Ancyranae canones xxiv. Hi canones priores sunt iis qui positi sunt Nicaeae.

I.

De sacerdotibus qui sacrificarunt.

De sacerdotibus illis qui, postquam sacrificaverunt, conversi denuo agonem non quidem

De presbyteris qui sacrificaverunt.

Sacerdotes ii qui sacrificaverunt, et rursus conversi doluerunt, non ab arte aliqua sed veri-

¹ Lat. Iulio-politanus.

² Lat. Eustolus.

³ Lat. Epidaurus.

⁴ Lat. (codd. Paris. 8921, 11710, 11711) add. Leontius Neroniadensis, Longinus Dicationensis, Amphion Alfus, Selaus Germanus.

astutia quadam sed veritate impulsu inierunt, quique id antea non praeordinaverunt, ut cruciati crederentur, licet fecte tantum et apparenter tormentis obicerentur: de his placuit synodo, ut quidem gradus honore dignarentur, non autem ut offerrent, homilias haberent, aut sacerdotis quovis munere unquam fungerentur.

tate, neque cum prius composuerint dolum et finxerint et persuaserint, ut putarentur accipere tormenta, cum haec tormenta opinione tantum et figura afferrentur neque veritate: his visum est honor sedis suae ut esset iis; ut offerrent vero oblationem aut interpretarentur aut ullo modo implerent ministerium sacerdotii

II.

De diaconis qui sacrificarunt.

De diaconis qui sacrificaverunt.

Diaconis qui, cum simili modo sacrificaverint, postea conversi ægonem subierunt, alius honor concedatur; verum ab omni sacerdotali ministerio abstineant necesse est; nec deferre panem aut calicem ad altare nec praedicare valent. ¹Quod si quibusdam episcopis propter illorum laborem humilitatem et mansuetudinem aliquid amplius illis dare aut aliquid demere utile visum fuerit, plena illis potestas conceditur.

Diaconi rursus qui sacrificaverunt et postea conversi doluerunt, honor quidem alius est iis; sunt vero soluti ab omni ministerio sacerdotii, ab inferendo altari pane vel poculo et a dando corpore et sanguine et praedicanda oratione. Quod si homines de episcopis ²viderint in iis opera conversationum vel mansuetudinis vel suavitatis, et volent aliquid maius dare vel adimere, sit licitum iis.

III.

De illis qui dum aufugerent capti, ob violentiam quam passi sunt facti sunt ethnici.

De iis qui fugientes capti sunt et per vim accidit iis aliquid paganismi.

Illos qui dum aufugerent capti aut a familiaribus traditi

Ii qui fugientes capti sunt aut a familiaribus suis traditi

¹ Haec verba accuratius reddit D.S.M. Quod si homines de episcopis videbunt (συνιδούεν) iis (i. e. apud eos) laborem aliquem vel humilitatem mansuetudinis et volent etc.

² συνιδούεν.

sunt, aut alio quovis modo bonis possessionibusque privati, tormentis tentati, aut in carcerem coniecti sunt, eo quod se christianos esse clamitarent; quique violenter tractati ab illis qui eos deducebant, aliquid ethnicam religionem redolens in propriis manibus deferre aut escam recipere violentia coacti sunt, licet se christianos esse confiterentur, tristitiamque ex iis quae acciderunt conceptam perpetuo ostenderunt tum demisso aspectu suo, tum humili veste atque ratione agendi: tales immunes a peccato existere certum est; unde a communione arcendi non sunt. ¹ Quod si ² a quibusdam repulsi sunt, sive ob nimiam cautelam, ³ sive ob ignorantiam, extemplo recipiantur oportet. Ita etiam decretum est de iis qui ad clerum et de iis qui ad statum laicalem pertinent. At ampliori disquisitione facta de laicis qui talibus in angustiis versati sunt, an ad ordines promoveri possint, placuit hos, utpote qui nihil peccaverint, ordinari posse, dummodo anteactae vitae mores reperti fuerint honesti.

sunt aut alias sublata sunt ab iis, toleraverunt autem tormenta et ceciderunt in carcerem, clamantes se esse christianos, et ⁴ scissa sunt vestimenta eorum et violenter res paganismi in manus eorum hi qui cogebant eos iniecerunt, et aliquid cibi per vim attulere ori eorum, confitentibus per omnia se esse christianos, et dolorem super his quae acciderunt sibi omni tempore ostendentibus omni praeparatione et humilitate et vita demissa: hi, tamquam homines qui non peccaverunt, ne prohibeantur omnino a communione. Quod si prohibiti sunt ab hominibus propter accurationem maiorem aut propter ignorantiam, continuo recipiantur, sive de clero sunt, sive de ordine laicorum. Quaerebatur vero et tentabatur etiam hoc, utrum possint laici illi qui in hanc necessitatem inciderint fieri clerici; et convenit etiam hos, tamquam homines qui nihil in hoc peccaverint, si inveniat conversatio eorum recta et pulchra, admitti ad impositionem manus quae in sacerdotio fit.

⁵ IV.

De iis qui ob diversas causas in quamdam idololatriam impigerunt.

De iis qui per causas varias aliquid paganismi egerunt.

¹ Quod si etiam, accuratius D.S.M.

² Gr. τὸν τῶν.

³ aut etiam quorundam ignorantia accuratius D.S.M.

⁴ = περισσώθητε.

⁵ cc. iv, v = c. iv cum γ.

Inter illos qui vim passi sacrificarunt aut in templis idolorum manducarunt, ¹ omnes illi qui, dum incederent, festivo apparatu aut pretiosioribus vestibus uti sunt, quique cenae indifferenter participes facti sunt, placuit synodo, ut anno integro inter auditores remaneant, iii annis genua flectant cum paenitentibus, ii annis orationibus tantum participant, et ita demum ad id quod perfectum est admittantur.

De iis qui per vim sacrificaverunt, et cum his etiam ederunt aede idolorum: eos quidem qui, cum ducerentur illuc, schemate laeto ascenderunt et vestimentis ornamenti uti sunt et communicaverunt facile in cibo qui paratus erat, convenit annum unum esse infra auditores, et iii annos paenitentes, et ii annos communicare in oratione communicantium non admissos, et tunc venire ad illam quae perfecta est.

(V).

Omnes autem illi qui lugubri veste accesserunt, quique, reclinati ut manducarent, per integrum cenae tempus lacrimantes visi sunt, cum iii paenitentiae annos degerint, ad omnia recipiantur praeterquam ad oblationem. Quod si non comederint, cum ii annis paenitentiae vacaverint, tertio anno orationi participant, non autem oblationi, ita ut quarto anno id quod perfectum est accipiant. Episcopis autem, cum conversionis modum scrutati fuerint, amplius liceat eis ostendere caritatem aut ampliorem imponere paenitentiam; ante omnia autem attendatur priori posteriorique eorum conversationi, et ita illis, prout decuerit, ostendatur humanitas.

Qui autem in vestimentis doloris et aegrimonia ascenderunt, et accubuerunt et ederunt dolentes et lacrimantes per omne tempus, cum impleverint iii annos in paenitentia, admitti sine oblatione. Quod si accubuerunt tantum neque ederunt, ii annos esse in paenitentia et in tertio communicare orationi communicantium sine oblatione; ad eam vero quae perfecta est admitti quarto anno. Liceat autem episcopis, scrutantibus genus paenitentiae, aut misericordia uti aut tempus maius paenitentiae adicere; omnium autem examinetur conversatio pristina et ea quae postea, et sic misericordiae mensuretur iis.

¹ = Gr. *δοιοι μὲν οὖν* (D.S.M.) cum *δ*.

V (VI).

*De illis qui minis tantum
cesserunt.*

Siquidam ministantum devicti et absque tormentis bonorum direptione aut exilio sacrificaverunt, neque usque ad hanc diem conversi paenitentiam egerunt, nunc autem coadunata synodo accedentes conversionis manifestarunt volitionem: illos placuit usque ad diem magnam inter auditores recipere, elapsa autem die magna, iii annos inter paenitentes consistere, iique alios annos orationi participare, quin oblationi intersint, atque ita ad id quod perfectum est annis vi elapsis admitti. Quod si quidam ante synodum ad paenitentiam admissi sunt, ab hoc tempore sexennii computari initium oportet. Si quis autem in periculum quoddam mortisque expectationem ex morbo aliave causa incidit, recipiatur iuxta decretum necesse est.

*De iis qui ob timorem tantum
pagani facti sunt.*

De iis qui propter minas tantum tormentorum vel rapinae possessionum suarum vel exilii a loco concesserunt et sacrificaverunt, et adhuc non paenitentes facti sunt neque conversi sunt, sed hoc tempore synodi surrexerunt et ostenderunt mentem paenitentiae: convenit usque ad diem magnam admitti eos infra auditores et postea esse iii annos in paenitentia, et post hos duos communicare orationi cum communicantibus sine oblatione, et tunc veniant ad eam quae perfecta est, ut impleant tempus vi annorum. Quod si sunt homines qui ante hanc synodum admissi sunt ad paenitentiam, tunc computetur iis tempus vi annorum. Quod si periculum aliquod aut opinio mortis a morbo aut ab alia causa acciderit, sub conditione admittantur.

VI (VII).

*De illis qui in diebus festis
ethnicorum cum ethnicis comederunt.*

Relate ad eos qui comedunt in locis ethnicis reservatis, dum ethnici festum celebrant, licet escas secum allatas manducaverint, placuit synodo ut ii annis inter paenitentes exactis¹ deinde,

De iis qui in locis edis idolorum vescuntur.

De iis qui ederunt in festis paganismi in loco strato pagani, cum cibos suos secum latos ederint, convenit ii annos eos paenitentiam agere et recipi. Utrum vero deceat etiam obla-

¹ ? διετίαν ὑποπεσόντας δεχθῆναι τότε, εἰ χρεή, μετὰ τῆς προσφορᾶς ἕκαστον κ.τ.λ.

si opportunum visum fuerit, ad oblationem admittantur. Unusquisque episcoporum disquiret et diiudicabit quomodo in uniuscuiusque casu sit agendum.

tionem simulac recipiantur accipere permissum voluntati uniuscuiusque episcoporum ut, cum examinaverit conversationem eorum,¹ faciat hoc.

VII (VIII).

De illis qui pluries sacrificarunt.

Qui bis vel ter sacrificaverint, violentia compulsi, iv annos agant inter paenitentes, iique iterum annis orationi intersint, non autem oblationi, septimoque anno demum plene recipiantur.

De iis qui saepius sacrificaverunt.

Ii qui bis terque coacti sacrificaverunt, iv annos sint in paenitentia, et ii annos communicando in oratione sine oblatione, et anno septimo perfecte recipiantur.

VIII (IX).

De illis qui aliis sacrificandi causa exstiterunt.

Omnes illi qui non solum errarunt sed qui in ceteros fratres insurgentes illis vim vel intulerunt vel ut illis inferretur causa exstiterunt, iii annos inter auditores remaneant, vi annos deinde inter paenitentes agant, perque alium annum ad orationem admittantur, non autem ad oblationem, et ita demum, completo decennio, ad id quod perfectum est recipiantur; in eo autem ipso tempore eorum reliquam agendi rationem observare oportet.

De iis qui etiam aliis causa erant ut sacrificarent.

Ii qui non solum ipsi declinaverunt, sed etiam surrexerunt et coegerunt alios et fuerunt aliis causa ut abnegarent, hi iii annos in loco inferiore auditoribus et vi annos alios in loco paenitentium et annum alium accipiant communionem orationis sine oblatione, et cum compleverint tempus x annorum communicando ei quae perfecta est, examinata cum his etiam conversatione vitae eorum.

¹ ? = ἀξιωμα.

IX (X).

De diaconis qui matrimonii convincuntur post suam ordinationem.

Omnes diaconi, qui ordinandi sunt, si in ipso ordinationis momento interrogati dixerint se, quia sine uxore vivere non possunt, velle uxorem ducere, postquam matrimonium inierint, in officio permaneant, cum uxorem ducendi ab episcopo acceperunt licentiam. Qui vero silentes ¹ita ordinem susceperunt, si deinceps matrimonium contrahant, ab officio deponantur.

De diaconis qui, accepturi impositionem manuum, antea testantur de matrimonio.

Omnes ii qui futuri sunt diaconi si eo tempore quo admittuntur ad impositionem manuum testati dixerunt oportere eos communicare, quia non possint ita perseverare: hi, etiam si postquam acceperint impositionem manuum communicant, maneant in ministerio, propterea quod ab episcopo ceperunt veniam ad hoc. Quod si homines tacuerint quo tempore accipiebant impositionem manuum, et receperint eo quod tacuerint, se sic perstaturos esse et postea venerint in matrimonium, solvantur ministerio.

X (XI).

De feminis quae postquam desponsatae sunt ab aliis violatae fuerunt.

Puellae quae postquam desponsatae fuerunt ab aliis sunt raptae, placuit ut reddantur iis qui prius eas desponsarunt, etiamsi raptores illis vim intulerint.

De iis quae postquam desponsae sunt corruptae sunt ab aliis.

Virgines quae desponsae sunt et postea ab aliis raptae, convenit sponsis suis pristinis reddi, etiamsi per vim quid acciderit iis.

XI (XII).

De catechumenis et de auditoribus qui sacrificaverunt.

Illi qui, cum ante baptismum sacrificaverunt, postea baptis-

De iis qui, cum essent auditores, sacrificaverunt.

Eos qui ante baptismum suum sacrificaverunt et postea bap-

¹ = καταβεύμενοι μένειν οὕτως.

mum susceperunt, placuit ut ad ordines recipiantur, quia peccatum abluerunt.

tizati sunt, convenit ¹decere venire ad ordinem cleri, propterea quod se purgaverint baptismo.

XII (XIII).

De chorepiscopis.

Chorepiscopis sacerdotum diaconorumque ordinationem non licet peragere, nec civitatum ³presbyteris, absque licentia episcoporum per scriptum data, licet ⁴celebrare in ⁵quovis loco.

Quod non deceat sine episcopo urbis fieri clericum ab iis quibus ruri secundum consuetudinem antiquam nomen episcopi est.

Chorepiscopo non licet presbyteros aut diaconos facere, neque ruri neque ⁶in urbe sine venia episcopi, quae fit ⁵omni loco per literas.

XIII (XIV).

De clericis qui carne abstinent.

Qui in clero perstant sive presbyteri sive diaconi, et ab esu carnum abstinent, placuit ut comedant et ita ⁷salvent semetipsos. Quod si carnem ita ⁸impuram habuerint ut etiam holera cum carne cocta non comedant et canonici se submittere nolint, ab officio deponantur.

De clericis qui se abstinere esu carnis.

Qui sunt in clero presbyteri et diaconi qui renuntiant esui carnis, convenit primum edere et postea, si volent, continere se ipsos; quod si ⁹impuram perhibeant eam ut ne holus quidem coctum cum carne edant neque oboediant canonici, solvantur a gradibus suis.

XIV (XV).

De bonis ecclesiae propter necessitatem alienatis.

Facultates ecclesiae, quas va-

De rebus ecclesiae quae propter necessitates ecclesiae venierunt.

Res quae propriae sunt eccle-

¹ ? = προάγεσθαι δεῖν.

² malit presbyterorum D.S.M.

³ male interpretatum: rectius presbyterus D.S.M.

⁴ malit ordinare D.S.M.

⁵ = ἐκάστη.

⁶ ? = πρεσβυτέρους πόλεως.

⁷ vel melius teneant vel colideant D.S.M. et βούλονται omittitur.

⁸ = βελεύουσιντο.

cante sede episcopali abalienaverint presbyteri, ¹ecclesiae reddantur, ²ita ut penes episcopum sit pretium emptoribus restituere vel non, quoniam multoties emptoribus in magnum lucrum cessit rei venditae proventus.

siae, quae cum deesset episcopus a presbytero venierunt, reddantur ¹ecclesiae. Illud vero, utrum debeat pretium sumere annon, sit in arbitrio episcopi: quod saepe fructus eorum quae veniere rependit iis qui emerunt pretium maius.

XV (XVI).

De iis qui cum bestiis commiscantur.

Relate ad eos qui se commiscuerunt vel se commiscunt cum bestiis, vigeat canon sequens: Qui antequam vigesimum annum attingerent peccaverunt, xv annos inter paenitentes cum degerint, postea orationibus intersint; et, cum in hac communione v annos expleverint, etiam oblationem recipiant: attendatur tamen eorum vitae, dum paenitentiae vacent, ita ut humane tractentur. Quod si quidam ad satietatem usque in hoc peccato vixerint, diuturniori poena plectantur. Omnes autem qui praedicta aetate transacta in hoc peccatum inciderint, etiam cum habent uxores, xxv annos in paenitentia perseverent, postea orationibus communicent, atque, cum v annos in hac communione consummaverint, oblatione digni habeantur. Quod si viri habentes uxores transacto quinquagesimo anno in hoc peccatum

De iis qui cum bestiis adulterantur.

De iis qui cum bestiis communicaverunt vel communicant statuimus nos omnes eos qui antequam xx annos nati fuerint peccaverunt, xv annos paenitentiam agere, et postea communicare orationi, et cum fuerint in communione v annos tunc etiam oblatione dignos haberi: probetur vero etiam conversatio eorum in paenitentia, et sic digni habeantur misericordia. Quod si homines ad satietatem perseveraverunt in peccato hoc, paenitentia protracta decernatur in eos. Qui vero praeterierunt mensuram xx annorum et uxores habentes inciderunt in peccatum hoc, paenitentiam agant xxv annos, et tunc recipiantur ad communionem orationis, et cum impleverint v annos in communione orationis, digni habeantur oblatione. Quod si homines uxores habentes et tempus lannorum praetervecti peccaverunt

¹ = τῇ κυριακῇ (?).

² accuratius in iudicio vero episcopi sit D.S.M.

inciderint, in extremis tantum oblatione donentur.

ad finem vitae suae digni habeantur communione.

XVI (XVII).

De illis qui postquam cum bestiis se commiscuerunt leprosi facti sunt.

Illos qui cum bestiis se commiscuerunt sunt vel ¹facti sunt leprosi, iussit synodus inter ²eos qui probantur orare.

De iis qui cum bestiis vel cum maribus polluti sunt vel adhuc polluantur.

Qui polluti sunt cum bestiis vel cum maribus et adhuc polluantur et ¹contabescunt, his imperavit synodus ut sint orantes cum iis qui ²tentantur a daemoniis.

XVII (XVIII).

De episcopis consecratis qui repulsi sunt.

Quod si quidam episcopi, postquam consecrationem acceperint, a locis quorum titulares existunt, eo quod accepti non fuerunt, ad alium locum migrare voluerint, episcopos ³qui eos consecraverunt conturbantes et vexantes, excitando contra illos tumultus, tales segregentur. Si autem ⁴pacifice se gerere voluerint in sacerdotio, ⁵ut sacerdotes antea existebant habeantur nec a gradu deponantur. Sin autem tumultus cierint adversus episcopos ibi existentes, ab illis auferatur etiam sacerdotis munus, denuntiatioque se noscant.

De iis qui fuerunt episcopi neque recepti sunt.

Quod si homines qui fuerunt episcopi neque recepti sunt in locis quibus nominati erant, et ad alia loca volent ire, cogentes et excitantes turbas contra eos ⁶qui se fecerunt, hi sint circumscripti. Quod si volent rursus fieri presbyteri ⁷quales fuerunt antea, ne alienentur honore suo. Quod si turbaverint adversus episcopos ⁸qui fecerunt se, adimatur iis etiam honor presbyterii et sint proscripti.

¹ Gr. λεπρόσσαντας.

² Gr. τοὺς καθέστῳτας.

³ Gr. τοὺς χειμαζομένους.

⁴ Gr. κατέζεσθαι.

⁵ Gr. ἐνθα ἦσαν κ.τ.λ.

XVIII (XIX).

De illis qui, postquam virginitatem voverunt, in mundum redierunt, sive viris sive feminis, et de mulieribus cohabitantibus.

Omnes qui virginitatem voverunt votaue frangunt, canonibus bigamos respicienti submittantur. Virgines quae sororum more cum quibusdam commorantur, arcemus.

De iis qui propter virginitatem abnegaverunt mundum et de mulieribus iis quae sub schemate sororum habitant cum viris.

Ii ¹ qui professi sunt virginitatem et violant professionem suam, terminum qui statutus est in eos qui ducunt duas uxores impleant. Virgines vero illas quae sub specie sororum habitant cum hominibus prohibuimus.

XIX (XX).

De laicis quorum uxores, vel ipsi, adulteria commiserunt.

Quod si cuiusdam uxor vel ipse adulterium commiserit, post vii annos ad id quod perfectum est admitti possunt, iuxta gradus antea descriptos.

De iis quibus sunt uxores adulteratae vel qui adulterantur.

Si fiet ut uxor hominis adulteretur, aut homo cum uxore alterius adulterium faciat, post vii annos digni censeantur communione oblationis.

XX (XXI).

De mulieribus quae pueros suos necant.

Mulieres quae, cum scortatae fuerunt, pueros occidunt aut tentant fetum opprimere, ad finem vitae usque excommunicatione plectebantur iuxta priores canones, ¹ quibus adhaeret praesens synodus. Attamen, cum hoc decretum aliquatenus rigidum visum fuerit, decrevimus

De iis quae varie occidunt liberos suos a stupro.

De feminis quae constuprantur et occidunt liberos suos, et iis quae callide agunt et perdunt fetus suos, terminus prior usque ad exitum earum de mundo prohibet eas; ² et cum hoc termino consentimus. Sed inventa re clementiore hoc tempus x annorum definivimus

¹ ? = παγγελάμενοι.

² Gr. καὶ τούτῳ συντίθεται.

ab istis mulieribus x annos secundum gradus ¹ modo definitos ² ut impleant, secundum gradus ¹ supra distinctos. ² esse explendos.

XXI (XXII).

De homicidis voluntariis.

Qui volentes homicidia perpetrant inter paenitentes integram vitam agant: sed ad id quod perfectum est in extremis admittantur.

De iis qui sponte sua occidunt.

Ii qui sponte sua occidunt sint in paenitentia omne tempus vitae suae: ea vero quae perfecta est in exitu suo e mundo digni censeantur.

XXII (XXIII).

De homicidis involuntariis.

Homicidis involuntariis vetus canon vii annos praescribebat antequam ad id quod perfectum est iuxta gradus definitos admitterentur: secundus autem canon v annos tantum praescribit.

De iis qui non sponte sua occidunt.

De caedibus quae accidunt citra voluntatem, mandatum prius vii annos statuit in actiones eorum secundum gradus supra positos: hoc vero alterum tempus v annorum definivit in eos ut impleant.

XXIII (XXIV).

De ariolis.

Qui divinationis artem exercent aut ethnicorum mores imitantes in domos suos divinos inducunt, ¹ ut obiecta deperdita reperiant vel ut puritatem consequantur, canon i v annos definienti iuxta gradus praescriptos subiaceant, iii annos in paenitentia ii que annos in oratione explentes, absque tamen participatione in oblatione.

De praestigiatoribus et iis qui praestigiatores sunt et consuetudines paganismi sequuntur et iis qui introducunt homines in domos suas ut ad inventionem magicae vel ad purgationem: sub canone v annorum ponantur secundum gradus ibi definitos: iii annos in paenitentia et ii in oratione sine oblatione.

¹ Gr. τοὺς ἀρισμένους.

² = πληρῶσαι (?).

³ Gr. ἐν ἀνευρέσει φαρμακείων ἢ καὶ καθάρσει.

XXIV (XXV).

*De illis qui virgines violant
et de illis qui fetus opprimere
tentant.*

*De iis qui norunt de corrup-
tione virginis.*

¹ Quod si quis adolescentulae sibi desponsatae sororem violaverit ita ut fructum ab ea habuerit, postea tamen desponsatam duxerit, et illa quam violavit sibi necem intulerit: de illis qui ita scienter agunt praescribit synodus ut, x annis expletis, cum eis ²qui simul orantes adstant iuxta gradus definitos admittantur.

¹ Si factum est ut desponsarit homo puellam et postea corruerit sororem eius, eaque ab eo conceperit, et rursus duxerit sponsam suam; ea vero quae concepisset suspenderit se ipsam: iis qui norant actionem imperatum est ut post x annos veniant ²ad communionem oblationis iuxta gradus definitos.

*Desinunt canones xxiv in
synodo Ancyrae conditi.*

APPENDIX II.

THE ARMENIAN VERSION.

THE appended translation (as literal a one as possible) of the Armenian version of the canons has been very kindly made for me by Mr. Conybeare, of University College, from a MS in his own possession, and to him I am also indebted for the following information.

In his history of the Armenian versions (Venice, 1890), P. Karékim assigns the sixth and eighth centuries as the limits for the translation of the Armenian book of canons, which he further supposes to have been made partly from the Greek, and partly from the Syriac. No grounds are given for either opinion; but the Armenian of the version would appear to be of about the seventh century, and this is borne out by internal evidence, thus the office of chorepiscopus requires explanation (c. xiv), *diocesis* is used in its later sense as equivalent to *παρoικία*, and, more significantly, 'Roman' is used for 'Greek' in c. xiv. Again, the spelling of the names in the preface would support a Syriac original, for the transliteration direct from the Greek is usually

¹ = ἐὰν προσεφθάρη.

² Gr. εἰς τοὺς συνεισώτας.

much more exact, but comparison with the Syriac versions in App. i does not at all support this supposition. The Armenian has never been published. There are MSS of it at Venice and Jerusalem, but not of an early date; the best are in Edschmiadzin, but even they appear to be only of the fourteenth century.

The version, as will be seen at once, varies so much from the Greek as to afford hardly any evidence as to various readings in the original. The last six canons are missing, but the loss is balanced by the insertion of a new canon (x) and of much new matter, e. g. in cc. ix, xi, xvii, xx. Canon xv supports an original *βδελύσσουτο*; but on the other hand *πρεσβυτέρους* may have been read in c. xiv, which is closer to the Greek than most of the canons, though *ἐν ἐνέρῃ παροικίᾳ* is omitted.

On other grounds the version is very interesting. Its chief characteristic is an increase in *severity*: the terms of penitence are much heavier than in the Greek, cf. e. g. cc. iv, viii, ix, xvii; the presbyters and deacons, in cc. i and ii, must have undergone great violence to excuse their fall; deacons who break their pledge of celibacy suffer a heavy penance in addition to deprivation (c. xi); the sterner view is taken as to the eating of meats or idolothyta in c. x; and lastly the sin of apostacy and of causing others to apostatize is regarded as most heinous, under the 'first canons' death was the penalty for the latter, but the fathers at the peril of seeming contradiction to Holy Scripture¹ permitted the offenders to receive the viaticum. On the other hand they appeal to the *misericordia Christi* as the ground for leniency in cc. iii, xvii († vii). So too almsgiving and *munificentia erga pauperes* is insisted upon as an indispensable sign of penitence, cf. cc. vii, viii, ix, x, xi. Technical terms are fully explained, e. g. *ἐκκληρύκτους* in c. xix and the stages of penance in cc. iv, xx. Among such explanations we notice in c. i that *ὁμολεῖν* is rendered *ad interpretationem sedere*, the *interpretatio* being the translation of the Greek or Syriac lections into the vernacular; also that *testamentum legere* is a 'liturgical' function of the presbyters, as to this day the reading of the Gospel is restricted to priests or deacons. The Armenian word for *clerus* in c. iii (as for *clericus* in xv. tit.) means 'covenant,' or 'vow,' and so denotes all those who have taken vows, and thus includes monks also and at times even all the faithful as being bound by baptismal

¹ Viz. to the words of Christ, *Negabo et cum coram patre meo*: but perhaps the original signified obedience to the divine precept, viz. to the remission of sins, *quascumque solveritis*, etc. Cf. note.

vows; hence the *cleri pueri* are not the families of the clergy, but the children of the church (cf. Acts iii. 25). Ordination is *unctio* (c. xi, xiv), but it is also marked by laying on of hands (c. xiv tit. etc.). The *chorepiscopus* is regarded as possessing full episcopal powers, only differing in point of dignity from the town bishops who are *valde magni*.

The consistent alteration of the terms of penitence in the direction of greater severity, and the supplementary character of the new matter introduced, as well as the definition of penance before left vague (e. g. in c. xx) suggests two conclusions: (a) that the canons were still in practical force in Armenia at the date of the version and that would be due to the close proximity of and wars with the Arabs; this will also explain the stern view taken of apostacy in c. ix, with the allusion to the sentence of death which could have only been enforced under a Christian government: (b) that in the present version we have an authoritative revision of the original canons by a council, or some other authority, in Armenia; such a council, and not that of Ancyra, would be the *secundum concilium* of c. ix, and the *primi canones* be those of a previous Armenian synod, as their enactment is certainly not in the canons of any Greek council.

EXORDIUM.

Hi canones priores sunt quam illi qui Nicaeae instituti sunt. Qui enim Nicaeae instituti sunt, ut ¹ antiquiores instituti sunt propter grave maximumque concilium quod congregatum est in urbe Nicaea.

Qui undique congregati sunt in concilium Ancyranum, eorundem nomina subscripta sunt istic: Marcellus Ancyranus, Agricolaus Caesariensis, ² Paulus Tarsensis, Vitalia Antiochensis, ³ Barselius ex Amasia, Philadelphus Iuliopolitanus, ⁴ Eustolius Nicomedensis, Heraclius Zelonensis, Petrus Iconensis, Nunechius Laodicensis, Sergianus ab Antiochia Pisidica urbe veniens ⁵. Convenientes ergo Ancyram, unanimiter congregatis orthodoxis, dissolutionis causa Lyciae impietatis quae ad idolothyta sollennia invitos cogebat presbyteros, instituerunt secundum peccata terminum modumque paenitentiae, viginti capita canonum qui isti sunt.

¹ Haec verba Armenice aequiparant *πρὸς βέλτερον* 'to be better, more important.'

² *Lupus* syr. et lat. isid.

³ *Basilius* syr. et lat. isid.

⁴ *Eustolus* lat. isid.

⁵ Syr. add. *Epiaorius Pergae* (? *Epidaurus*), *Narcissus Neroniadis*, et lat. isid. etiam in quibusdam mss, *Leontius Neroniadensis*, *Longinus Diaconensis*, *Amphion Alfus*, *Selaus Germanus*.

I. De presbyteris qui ethnicorum violentia usque ad tormenta mortisque minas provecta ipsi propter metum sacrificaverunt, posteaque laboraverunt et solliciti sunt et revera redierunt: de talibus placuit sancto concilio, ut honorem cathedrae secundum ordinem habeant, sed ad interpretationem sedere vel oblationem offerre vel testamentum legere ne liceat.

II. Idem canon et diacono constituitur, si ab invito factum sit sacrificium et sine voluntate, sique sit reditus sincerus. Placuit magno concilio: in sacerdotium ne accedant, sed in ordine ministerii remaneant; si vero cruciatus et supplicium ab iniquis graviter inciderint reditusque sincerus fuerit, episcopus sit arbiter ¹presbytero et diacono an digni sint qui sui quisque gradus ministerio fungantur.

III. De laicis et de cleri iuvenibus: si quis coactus fuerit impiorum violentia ad sacrificandum et direptis eorum bonis aliisque permaximis mortibus illatis, sique illi conclamaverint se christianos esse et de deo alio quodam nihil plane cognoscere, et si coacti ederint idolothyta maesti et animo contristati, non sine plangore lacrimisque, ²iis per misericordiam Christi venia detur ut mortalibus et infirmis: talibus in ordinem ministerii obsignari liceat. Si quis vero de clero sit, dignus est qui adducatur in gradum sacerdotii; praesertim si prior vita recta fuerit, ut accipiantur placuit maximo concilio.

IV. De iis qui violentia abducti sunt ad sacrificandum, posteaque cum pervenissent in locum volenter hilares solutique per lulum risusque lascivierunt in eorum templis, tunc autem in paenitentiam adducti sunt: placuit propter amorem dei erga homines ut duo annos audiat, et iii annos in vestibulo particeps sit precum, duoque annos ingressus ecclesiam cum paenitentibus egrediatur; vitam perquisitus eucharistiam participet.

V. Qui pullo amictu iverunt et inter accubitionem epularem ederunt, sed diem totum toro accumbentes fleverunt paenitueruntque, cum segregati substratique compleverint paenitentiam, triennium sine eucharistia accipiantur. Si vero non comederint, biennium segregentur; tertio iam anno participant sine eucharistia, ita ut quod perfectum praecipuumque est post tres annos accipiant, id est eucharistiam. Episcopus penes sit, cum morem reditus spectaverint, peccantem indulgentius tractare vel et aliquantulo spatium paenitentiae proferre. Praecipue et ante omnia quae fuerit anteacta

¹ *Arm. eritsoun rē presbyterē.*

² [†] *vel et per misericordiam Christi venia data sit vitae eorum mortali, i. e. ita ut tormenta corporis passi sint.*

vita peccantis et in quibus versatus sit omni modo investigatio fiat et probatio, secundum quam et indulgentia aestimabitur.

VI. De iis qui minis coacti suppliciove seu bonis mulcati seu exsultantes oboedierunt sacrificaveruntque, neque adhuc redierunt neque exomologesin fecerunt, nunc autem et ante tempus concilii animum induerunt paenitentis redeuntisque: placuit usque ad diem Pascharum audiant tantum, post autem magnam diem, Pascharum dico, sub disciplina sint iii annos; at peracto biennio participant sine eucharistia, et hoc modo usque ad rem perfectam veniant; eo ut omnino vi annos compleant. Si quis autem ante concilium ut paenitens exceptus sit, ab eo tempore aestimetur eidem initium vi annorum complendorum. Si cui vero periculum vel expectatio mortis inciderit propter morbum vel aliam causam, is accipiat sub definitione.

VII. De iis qui ethnicorum in domos iverunt, ubi et locus paratus est sese impurandi causa, praesertim si et suos cibos attulerint ibique se lasciviae dederint: etenim de talibus liber dicit, ¹*commisti sunt inter gentes et didicerunt opera eorum*: de his placuit ut triennium audiant, bienniumque ²substrati participant preces; ad episcopi tandem placitum per misericordiam compassionemque erga pauperes participant eucharistiam.

VIII. De iis qui iterum tertioque euntes idolothyta comederunt, suosque cibos tulerunt obtuleruntque, postea vero exhortante episcopo ipsoque animo, in exomologesin paenitentiamque venerunt: placuit vii annos sub disciplina sint, et duo annos preces participant, ut paenitentes substrati; deinde spectati et posteram vitam et sinceritatem paenitentia afflictione et misericordia beneficentiaque erga pauperes comprobantes ad episcopi placitum eucharistiam participant.

IX. De iis qui ipsi non abstinuerunt a sacrificiis sed et fratres et amicos suos dolo seduxerunt ut una cum ipsis perderentur, propuleruntque eos praecipies in imam foveam, perinde atque scriptum est, ³*foveam suis fodit, in eandem cadat quam fecit*: tales et primi canones interfici iusserunt, sed ⁴secunda vice placuit unanime maximo concilio ⁵offendere divino praecepto, *qui autem negaverit me coram hominibus, negabo et ego eum coram patre meo qui est in coelis* et ⁶*quaecumque solveritis super terram erunt soluta*

¹ Pa. cvi. 35.

² Arm. *änd dzeramb* = sub manu.

³ Pa. vii. 16 (?).

⁴ forte legendum: *secundo placuit unanime maximo concilio*.

⁵ insulsa lectio videtur *offendere*, nisi particula negativa antecedit, quae deesse videtur, vel vox ipsa *adhaerere* possit significare.; vide autem pag. 210.

⁶ S. Matt. x. 33 et xviii. 18.

in coelo; itaque placuit cuncto maximo concilio ut vivant neque moriantur; si facto reditu salutis usque ad plenam exomologesin adducti fuerint insaniae magistri qui familiares ad insaniam ad-e-g-e-r-un-t, prae gravi paenitentia magna-que tribulatione viaticum accipiant. Quos autem insanos reddiderunt, quinquennium ¹ sub disciplina sint, iv vero annos substrati preces participant, prae munificentia erga pauperes eucharistiam participant.

² X. De iis qui comedunt sine discrimine et indifferenter cibos ethnicorum: placuit concilio magno deumque amanti dicere ³ *omnia munda mundis, coinquinatis autem omne immundum*, id esse quodcunque dignum sit iis comedere licere. Si fieri possit, ne degustet omnino; sin gulam audeat, caseum carnemque quae viro catechumeno mactata sit ne comedat; sed omnem cibum potumque et frugem et cramben etiam quae idolis cunque oblata fuerint, ne degustet omnino; quae vero per sacrificium labe haud maculata fuerint, panis, vinumque, lac, fruges, crambe, vestimenta, bestia, libera sint. ⁴ *Nolite tamen dare sanctum canibus*, cibos cleri sanctae ecclesiae ⁵ homini, ⁶ cui character domini non impressus sit, canones vetant. Sin vero mavis id agere quod ab apostolo dictum est, ⁷ *omne quod in macello venit, manducate*, audi continuo, *si quis autem dixerit, hoc immolatum est idolis, nolite manducare*. Si quis vero praecepto huic offendant et gulae obtemperet, paenitentia et eleemosyna peccatum expiet, unum annum substernatur, sed ⁸ cleri pueris ne omnino socius fiat; nonne scriptum est, ⁹ *in sapientia ambulate ad eos qui foris sunt*, ne nomen domini per vos blasphemetur inter gentes?

XI (X). Diaconis qui cum ad unctionem adducti sint conclamaverint se castos esse nequire, sancte nubere fas est, quia ¹⁰ *honorabile connubium et torus immaculatus*; posteaque ad sacerdotium promoveantur et palam libereque episcopo administrent. At si qui in unctione ipsa tacuerunt et in approbatione idcirca professi sunt ut confirmarentur in gradu, postea autem nupserunt, a sacerdotio cessent et ab ordine ministrantium ecludantur; vii annos inter audientes et duo annos substratus munificentia erga pauperes expiet

¹ Arm. *und kargoſ* ad lit. = *sub iussis*.

² Hic canon non in graecis reperitur.

³ Tit. i. 15.

⁴ S. Matt. vii. 6.

⁵ per facilem emendationem M. Baronian, textus enim armenius hic corruptus est.

⁶ id est *non baptizato*; cf. 1 Cor. i. 16 arm.

⁷ 1 Cor. x. 25 et 28.

⁸ id est *filiis ecclesiae*; cf. Acta iii. 25.

⁹ Col. iv. 5 et Rom. ii. 24.

¹⁰ Heb. xiii. 4.

peccata; sed examinatus spectatusque paenitentiam ab episcopo participabit eucharistiam, sed in ordinem et ministerium ne intret.

XII (XI). Sed quaecumque desponsae sint virgines nuptaeque repertae sint, postea vero ab aliis raptae sint, placuit ut restituantur iis quibus erant desponsae, vel si ob violentiam refugiant ne liceat.

XIII (XII). Qui ante baptismum sacrificaverunt posteaque baptizati sunt, placuit in gradum promoveantur tales, ut qui fonte lustrati sunt.

XIV (XIII). Chorepiscopis ne liceat presbyteros diaconosque unguere, neque autem creare seu unguere ¹ presbyteros in ulla urbe sine permissu episcopi seu per litteras seu ipsa voce mandantis. Etenim qui in regionibus sive pagis episcopales erant, tales appellat chorepiscopos: chorepiscopus enim ² Graece appellatur inspector pagi, factoque discrimine eorum qui valde magni sunt, nempe qui civitatibus praefecti sunt, episcopi appellantur regionum.

XV (XIV). Qui de clero sint presbyteri vel diaconi aut alio quidem munere in ministerio fungantur, abstineantque sese carne, sed appetitu ad gustandam adducantur, palam neque clam comedant; si autem maluerint, abstineant: et hoc et illud canones permittunt. Si quis tamen ³ pro impuro habeat sive cramben sive panem propter carnis contagionem, eum ecclesiae canones non accipiunt.

XVI (XV). De facultatibus quae ecclesiae esse definitae sunt, quodcumque sit, sive domus seu ager seu arvum, antequam episcopus in vico esset, sed presbyteri vendiderunt, potestatem habeat easdem ab iis exigendi: postea vero episcopus aestimabit et ius et pretium rei, utrum pretium oporteat adimere an reddere.

XVII (XVI). De iis qui sese bestiarum stupro polluerunt: si quis iuvenis veluti xv annos natus peccaverit, xv annos audiat posteaque quinquennium substernatur; paenitentiaeque eius investigetur perquiraturque; is, si lacrimis et corde paenituerit, eleemosynaeque peccatum expiaverit, dignus fiat qui participet eucharistiam. Sin vero adultus peccaverit veluti xx annos natus, xx annos audiat quinquenniumque substernatur; si tamen in peccatis perseveraverit, spatii plus addatur paenitentiae; fervorem et eleemosynam spectetur et eucharistiam participet. Si tamen uxorem habens sese polluerit, usque ad vitam peractam inter audientes sit cum gemitu et afflictione eleemosynaeque; placuit magno concilio propter ⁴ *humani generis amorem* ut in discessu vitae accipiat viaticum. Bestiam vero, si ad edendum sit idonea, canes comedant lac carnemque.

XVIII (XVII). Qui corpus maculosum seu lentigine sive alio quo

¹ ? πρεσβυτέρους πόλεως.

² Arm. *Horoms* i. e. *Romane*.

³ ? βέλυσσιντο.

⁴ ? φιλανθρωπία (Tit. iii. 4).

morbo habent, si clanculum alios contagione morbosos reddiderint, inter daemonesiacos teneantur.

XIX (XVIII). Qui episcopi erant institutique, repudiati autem a dioecesi quae deputata est, in alteram dioecesin adire voluerunt vique alterius dioecesis episcopum cogere, adducta re in contentionem turbamque, tales fas est ab ecclesia pellere et occludere. Si tamen velint in ordine cuius erant presbyteratus sedere et nomen presbyterale habere, digni sunt acceptione. Sin episcopo obviam eant et resistent, omnino ab honore presbyteratus pellantur et coram ecclesia sit publica expulsio, eo ut omnibus notificetur.

XX (XXI). Qui iam adulti castitatis professionem fecerunt, posteaque vota non servaverunt et fornicati sunt, tales abhinc casti esse nequeunt: velut si duas feminas duxerit, talis habeatur; subiiciatur condicionibus paenitentiaeque; biennium in vestibulo substernantur, unum vero annum iam in ecclesiam ingressi cum paenitentibus egrediantur; animum et cor paenitentis ostendant et participant eucharistiam; sed ad unctionem sacerdotalem ne promoveantur. Virginibus autem quae quibusdam veluti sorores sese consociabant, diutius ne consociant, interdiximus.

ANCYRANI CANONES, CAPITA XX.

- I. *De sacerdotibus qui necessitate immolaverunt.*
- II. *De diaconis idem facientibus.*
- III. *De cleri pueris qui vi coguntur ad idolothyta comedenda.*
- IV. *De iis qui volenter sacrificaverunt.*
- V. *De iis qui hilariter manducaverunt.*
- VI. *De gavisis qui quominus paeniterent morati sunt.*
- VII. *De iis qui in domos iverunt ethnicorum atque comederunt.*
- VIII. *De iis qui perseveraverunt in peccatis.*
- IX. *De iis qui et ipsos et alios deceperunt.*
- X. *De non dando in oblationibus cibos infidelium.*
- XI (X). *De diaconis qui feminam ducunt.*
- XII (XI). *De iis qui abripiunt virgines desponsatas.*
- XIII (XII). *De iis qui post sacrificeationem baptizati sunt.*
- XIV (XIII). *De manus imponentibus chorepiscopis sacerdoti.*
- XV (XIV). *De clericis qui voluerunt carnem gustare.*
- XVI (XV). *De facultatibus quae ecclesiae appellatae sunt.*
- XVII (XVI). *De animalia struprantibus.*
- XVIII (XVII). *De iis qui corpore maculoso sunt.*
- XIX (XVIII). *De episcopo qui alienam dioecesin occupat.*
- XX (XIX). *De iis qui castitatem profitentur.*

VI.

THE CHELTENHAM LIST OF THE CANONICAL BOOKS OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT AND OF THE WRITINGS OF CYPRIAN¹.

[W. SANDAY.]

The following articles may be consulted :—

Mommsen, *Zur lateinischen Stichometrie*, in *Hermes*, Bd. xxi. pp. 142-156.
J. Weiss, *Ein neugefundenes Kanon-Verzeichniss*, in *Hilgenfeld's Zeitschr. f. Wiss. Theol.*, Jahrg. xxx. (1887), pp. 157-171.

Harnack, review of Mommsen in *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, Jahrg. xi. (1886), cols. 172-176.

Zahn, review in *Zeitschr. f. kirchl. Wissenschaft*, 1886, pp. 113-118.

I have not seen an article by Volkmar in *Theol. Zeitschr. aus der Schweiz*, 1886, p. 184 ff. Zahn seems to promise a special 'Beilage' on the subject in the forthcoming second volume of his *Gesch. d. neutest. Kanons*. [Appeared Oct. 1890].

WE in England are too often indebted to foreign scholars for the discovery of our own treasures. When Prof. Mommsen was in England in the autumn of 1885 he found in the Phillipps Collection at Cheltenham (since in part dispersed) a MS. of no great value in itself, but which derives a certain value, as Prof. Mommsen was not slow to recognise, from a list inserted in it of the Books of the Old and New Testaments and of the writings of Cyprian. The interest of this turned of course mainly upon the substance of the list, but it was enhanced by the occurrence of a note which seemed to give it a date, and that a date as early as the year 359 A.D.

The MS. was numbered 12266 in the Phillipps Collection,

¹ The substance of this essay was read on Feb. 22, 1886. It has been rewritten, in view of the materials which have accumulated in the interval, but the part relating to Cyprian is left much as it was.

and is ascribed to the tenth century. I saw it after Prof. Mommsen in the summer of 1886, and took some notes, which have not however been verified. The lists are quite correctly given by Prof. Mommsen, whose proofs were revised by Mr. Fenwick, Jun., son of the owner of the library. The only point on which a question may be raised (as to the interpretation of the data for Cyprian's *Testimonia ad Quirinum*) will be noticed below. The MS. is thus described in the late Sir Thomas Phillipps' Catalogue, from which an extract is given in Zangemeister's *Durchforschung der Bibliotheken Englands* (Vienna, 1877), p. 99. I keep Zangemeister's numbering.

- (1) Eusebii Cronica de Generationibus Bibliae ¹.
- (2) Persecutiones octo contra Christianos.
- (3) Prophetiae ex Sacris Libris.
- (4) Virtutes Eliae Prophetae.
- (5) p. ysel Eio ² (*sic*) *do*.
- (6) Comparationes ³ Hominum.
- (7) Liber Generationis Hominum.
- (8) Nomina Regum Samariae.
- (9) Nomina Prophetarum et Sacerdotum.
- (10) Patriae Levitarum.
- (11) Interpretatio Nominum Hebraicorum.
- (12) Index Librorum Canonicoꝝ Vet. et Novi Test ⁴.
- (13) De Locis Hebraicis.
- (14) Alia Interpretatio Nominum Hebraicorum.
- (15) Excerpta ex Cassiani Collationibus.

¹ The opening words of the MS. are *Chronica Eusebii Caesariensis epi Incipiunt Generationes totius Bibliothecae*. Sir T. Phillipps clearly did not profess to reproduce exactly the titles in the MS. My notes are not quite sufficient to allow me to give a revised list, or I would do so: the principal points are noted below.

² My notes have distinctly *Incipiunt etiā helisei virtutes*.

³ *Contropationes* (= *ἀντιθέσεις*!) Cod., i.e. distinctions of persons bearing the same name, as Adam the protoplast, Adam *filius barao* (*Adad filius Badad* Vulg. in 1 Chron. i. 46; the various reading will be noticed), etc.

⁴ The list of the writings of Cyprian is omitted.

- (16) Augustinus de Gratia et Libero Arbitrio.
- (17) Augustinus de Correptione et Gratia.
- (18) De Origene, qui scripsit Mille et Sexcentos Libros.
Fol. min. mb. s. x. folio 105.

There is nothing I believe really by Eusebius in the MS. The first 100 pages are a miscellaneous compilation consisting of lists of various kinds, digested and classified, such as did duty for biblical and chronological science in the early Middle Ages. The larger portion (beginning on p. 66) is taken from the so-called *Liber Generationis*, itself a statistical account of the sons of Noah, their dispersion and the regions which they occupied, the mountains and rivers of Scripture, the judges, kings of Judah, kings of Rome, prophets, prophetesses, high priests, and the like. The learned opinion of the present day seems to be on the whole favourable to the view that Hippolytus was the author of this work¹. Another and still better MS., No. 1829², in the Philipps Catalogue, was also at Cheltenham, and is now, I suppose, with the other Meerman MSS. at Berlin. Both MSS. were derived from the same archetype, but the older MS. was differently dated and had not the lists of books. On p. 77 of the

¹ So Mommsen, Krusch, and Duchesne (*Lib. Pontif.* p. iii). Zahn expresses dissent (*Z. f. kirchl. Wiss.* 1886, p. 113), but he has not yet, so far as I know, published his reasons. If it is not by Hippolytus himself, it seems at least to belong to the time of Hippolytus. The leading MS. is dated in a number of places the thirteenth year of Alexander Severus (206 from the Passion, A.M. 5738 = 234 A.D.). The work circulated in two forms, sometimes separately and sometimes incorporated in the larger compilation which passes under the name of Fredegarius (Duchesne, *ut sup.*). It has been published at various times by Canisius, *Thesaurus Mon. Eccles. et Hist.*, tom. ii. 147 ff. (ed. Banage, Amsterdam, 1725), Labbe, *Nova Bibl. MSS.*, f. 298 ff. (Paris, 1657), and recently (from an inferior MS., but with an attempt to restore the lost Greek original) by Pitra, *Analecta Sacra*, ii. 274 ff. (1884).

² Mommsen by a slip of the pen says 1895. The MS. in question is the same from which the *Liber Generationis* was originally published by Labbe, and the same also with the Codex Middlehillensis of Jerome's Chronicle (Schoene's *M*; described on p. xiv of his edition): it was written in the eighth century, Rühl conjectures at Verona, and came into the Meerman collection from the Jesuit Collège de Clermont. The *Liber Generationis* begins on p. 183.

younger MS., inserted among the Hippolytean matter, is a chronological calculation which is brought down to the consulship of the two brothers Eusebius and Hypatius (*eubium et typasium*, *frs* Cod.) in the year 359, which tallies exactly with a further calculation, that from the founding of Rome to the *imperium* of G. Julius Caesar was 705 years, and from Julius Caesar to the consuls Eusebius and Hypatius an additional 406 years ($705 + 406 = 1111$ A. U. C. = 358/9 A. D.)

This note comes at the end of a list of the kings of Rome¹. Then follow names of prophets and prophetesses, kings of Israel, and high priests; then on p. 81 some interpretations of Hebrew names (not from the work of Hippolytus); then on p. 82 begins the list of the Books of the Old Testament; on pp. 83, 84 the lists of the Books of the New Testament and of the works of Cyprian; and at the end of these continuously in the same line some more interpretations from the Hebrew. These are not, I believe, taken directly from Jerome. A confused mass of such interpretations was floating about at the time when the MS. was written, though they would no doubt be less common in the year 359.

There is an interval of five pages between the chronological note and the Biblical and Cyprianic lists; and the text which connects them is not all taken from the same work. It will be seen therefore that there is but a very small presumption that the lists in question proceeded from the same hand as the note. We are thrown back upon the internal evidence of the lists; and though there are features in them which would agree sufficiently well with such a date as 359, there are others which have the appearance of being somewhat later.

Dr. Mommsen, as he explains, was hurried in his examination of the MS.; and he does not mention the fact that it contains another note of time not quite consistent with that which he has given. On p. 66, at the beginning of the table

¹ Not, I think, 'kings of Judah' (as Mommsen, p. 143): the kings of Rome come between.

of contents of the *Liber Generationis*, occurs the following:—*Haec sunt diutissime per diversa quæsitæ; sic dinumeratio temporum et annorum a generatione sæculi, ab Adam usque in consulatum Valentiniani et Valentis; anni sunt. V. DCCCC. XX. VIII.*¹

It is hard to reconcile the two parts of the date. The first consulship of Valentinian and Valens is A. D. 365=A. M. 5857/8 according to the era of Alexandria (invented by Julius Africanus). But this does not at all resemble the reading of the MS. (V̄DCCCLVII compared with V̄DCCCCXXVIII). The era of Constantinople (V̄DCCCLXXIII) would be nearer the mark². But the era of Constantinople was not in use in the time of Valentinian; so that if the calculations were made in accordance with that era it would not be contemporary, and no conclusion could be drawn from it.

On the other hand, A. M. 5928=A. D. 436 according to the era of Alexandria, or 420 according to that of Constantinople. The consuls for the first of these years were Fl. Anthemius Isidorus and Senator; Emperors Theodosius II and Valentinian III; the consuls for the year 420 were the Emperors Theodosius II and Constantius III. There is nothing in either year or in the near neighbourhood of either year to suggest any obvious emendation or explanation. I can only for the present leave the discrepancy as it stands. Clearly the consulship of Valentinian and Valens is the more fixed point of the two. Numbers are always liable to corruption. We may accept then provisionally the year 365 as the date of the note, which will at least serve to verify the statement that the surrounding matter was collected from various sources. At the same time it will not escape us that the two dates 359 and 365 are near each other; so that to a certain extent the one lends support to the other, and would make it appear that the compiler or compilers were

¹ The punctuation is that of the MS., but the contractions are resolved.

² [Mr. Turner suggests the era of Hippolytus (V̄DCCCLXVIII), which would be nearer still and not open to objection.]

busy about that period. More than this we cannot say. The lists certainly cannot be labelled '359' without further question; but they may be approached with a fair presumption that they belong, if not to the year 359, yet to a date not far removed from that year¹.

We have now to put the reader in possession of the lists. These are reprinted from Mommsen's article, to which, as I have said, I have nothing to offer by way of correction. The Latinity and clerical errors of the MS. are reproduced as they are.

Incipit indiculum veteris testamenti qui sunt libri canonici
sic

Genesis ver n̄
Exodus ver n̄
Numeri ver n̄
Leviticum ver n̄
Deuteronomium ver n̄
Ihū Nave ver n̄
Iudicum ver n̄
sunt libri VII ver n̄ XVIII C
Rut ver CCI
Regnorum liber I ver II CCC
Regnorum liber II ver II CC
Regnorum liber III ver II D
Regnorum liber IIII ver II CCL
sunt versus VIIII D
Paralipomenū lib. I II XL
lib. II ver II C

¹ It was customary to insert dates in compilations of this kind. That which goes by the name of *Fredegarius* bears a double date: the first 613, the second marking a further revision in 642 (or 641 ?): see Duchesne, *Lib. Pontif.*, p. 18 etc. The Harley MS. 5251 (eighth or ninth century) appears to contain the latter date: *Fuit ab adam usque ad eraclum imperatorem regnans annorum XXXI. Omnes anni v milia CXLVI.* (Zangemeister, *Durchforschung*, etc. p. 26). A very slight correction (VI for V) brings this right: A.M. 6146 = A.D. 641, which is the thirty-first year of Heraclius.

Machabeorum lib. I $\overline{\text{ver}}$ $\overline{\text{IIICC}}$

lib. II $\overline{\text{ver}}$ $\infty \overline{\text{DCCC}}$

Iob $\overline{\text{ver}}$ $\infty \overline{\text{DCCC}}$

Tobias $\overline{\text{ver}}$ $\overline{\text{DCCCC}}$

Hester

Iudit $\overline{\text{ver}}$ $\infty \overline{\text{C}}$

Psalmi David $\overline{\text{CLI}}$ $\overline{\text{ver}}$ $\overline{\text{V}}$

Salomonis $\overline{\text{uer}}$ $\overline{\text{VD}}$

profetas maiores $\overline{\text{ver}}$ $\overline{\text{XVICCCLXX}}$ numero $\overline{\text{IIII}}$

$\overline{\text{Y}}$

**saias* $\overline{\text{uer}}$ $\overline{\text{IIIDLXXX}}$

Ieremias $\overline{\text{uer}}$ $\overline{\text{IIICCCL}}$

Daniel $\overline{\text{ver}}$ $\infty \overline{\text{CCCL}}$

Ezechiel $\overline{\text{ver}}$ $\overline{\text{IIIDCCC}}$

profetas XII $\overline{\text{IIIDCCC}}$

erunt omnes $\overline{\text{ver}}$ $\overline{\text{n LXVIIID}}$

Sed ut in apocalypsis Iohannis dictum est: 'vidi XXIIII seniores mittentes coronas suas ante thronum,' maiores nostri probant hos libros esse canonicos et hoc dixisse seniores.

Item indiculum novi testamenti,

euangelia IIII Matheum $\overline{\text{vr}}$ $\overline{\text{IIDCC}}$

Marcus $\overline{\text{ver}}$ $\infty \overline{\text{DCC}}$

Iohannem $\overline{\text{vr}}$ $\infty \overline{\text{DCCC}}$

Luca $\overline{\text{vr}}$ $\overline{\text{IIICC}}$

fiunt omnes versus X

eplae Pauli n XIII

actus apłorum $\overline{\text{ver}}$ $\overline{\text{IIIDC}}$

apocalipsis $\overline{\text{ver}}$ $\infty \overline{\text{DCCC}}$

eplae Iohannis III $\overline{\text{ur}}$ $\overline{\text{CCCCCL}}$

una sola

eplae Petri II $\overline{\text{ver}}$ $\overline{\text{CCC}}$

una sola

Quoniam indiculum versuum in urbe Roma non ad liquidum¹, sed

¹ So Mommsen corrects: aliqui dum Cod.

224 *The Cheltenham List of the Canonical Books,*

*et alibi avariciae causa non habent integrum, per singulos libros computatis syllabis posui numero XVI versum Virgilianum omnibus libris numerum adscripsi*¹.

Indiculum Cecili Cipriani.

1. *ad Donatum CCCCX*
2. *ad virgines D*
3. *de lapsis DCCCCLXXX*
4. *de opere et elemosyna DCLXX*
5. *ad Demetrianum DXXXV*
6. *de ecclesiae unitate DCCL*
7. *de zelo et liuore CCCCXX*
8. *de mortalitate DL*
9. *de patientia DCCCLX*
10. *ad Fortunatum DCCXL*
11. *de domini oratione*
12. *ad Quirinum libri III: I DL.*
II DCCCL
III DCCLXX
13. *ad Antonianum DCL*
14. *de calice dominico CCCCL.*
15. *de laude martyrii DCCCXXX*
16. *ad confessores martyrum CXL*
17. *Moyse et Maximo LXX*
18. *ad eosdem alia CXX*
19. *de precando deum CXC*
20. *ad clerum LIIII*
21. *Aurelio lectori pro ordinato CXL*
22. *Celerino C*
23. *ad Iobianum DL*
24. *ad Quintum C*
25. *Ade prb XIII n̄ . XXX*

¹ There is evidently some corruption here; see p. 263 below, where it is proposed to omit *posui* (with Mommsen) and to take *versum Virgilianum* as standing for gen. plur.—partly by the use of a vernacular form (*versum* = *versuum*), partly by corruption.

26. *Ade prb n̄ . CXX*
27. *sententiae episcoporum DXX*
28. *ad Pompeium CCXC*
29. *ad Stephanum C*
30. *ad Fidum CVI*
31. *ad Magnum CCLXXXIII*
32. *ad Martialem CCL*
33. *Luci ad Eucratium XL*
34. *Felici et ceteris XX*
35. *de Numidia conf. XXX*
36. *ad Florentium CCVII*
37. *ad presb LXXII*
38. *ad eosdem et dias XXV*
39. *ad clerum urb LXX*
40. *Romani resc (so) CCXV*
41. *adversus Iud CCXC*
- 42-50. *ad Cornelium VIIII ∞ CVIII*
51. *vita Cypriani DC*
funt omnes versus 7̄ XVIIID

It will have been observed that the lists are themselves broken by interpolations. Both of these are suggestive, and throw light on the character and motive of the lists. The first is a comment on the number of Books in the Old Testament; the second explains the purpose of the stichometry by which the lists are accompanied. The subjects which we shall have to discuss are: (1) the Canon and Order of the Books of the Old Testament; (2) the Canon and Order of the Books of the New Testament; (3) the Note on the Stichometries and the Biblical Stichometries; (4) the list of the writings of Cyprian.

I. THE CANON AND ORDER OF THE BOOKS OF THE
OLD TESTAMENT¹.

The closer study of this part of the list I leave to those in whose department it falls more directly than it does in mine. It will be enough to indicate in broad outline the bearings of the Cheltenham list. This will perhaps be done best by placing it in comparison with other lists which mark the different stages and ramifications in the history of the Old Testament Canon. We must not assume that the order of development and the local order will necessarily correspond; I have therefore placed together those lists which have any real affinity to each other apart from the geographical relation of the Churches which they represent. As a simple basis for such an arrangement we may take the varying total assigned to the number of the Books. This however is only given where attention is expressly called to it by the list in question. The numbering also is that of the lists themselves. For the sake of further illustration the order of the Books in the Hebrew Canon is prefixed. In the case of the German and Spanish Rites the arrangement is typical: deviations from it will be found in individual MSS. Books which are not included in our present Canon are marked +.

¹ The lists are drawn up mainly from the texts given by Westcott and Credner. Hody has been compared, but is not very trustworthy. The first of the Jewish lists is put together from Fürst, *Kanon d. A. T.* (Leipzig, 1868), compared with Hamburger, *Real-Enc. f. Bib. u. Talm.*, s. v. Bibel (Strelitz, 1883-1886); for the second and third see Riehm, *Einleitung in d. A. T.*, p. 63 (Halle, 1889). Riehm explains the titles 'Earlier' and 'Later' Prophets as applying not to date but to position in the Canon. The reason assigned in the Talmud for the order of the Major Prophets turns upon their subject-matter: *cum libri regum finiantur in desolatione, et Jeremias totus versetur in desolatione, Ezechiel vero incipiat in desolatione et finiat in consolatione et Iesajas totus versetur in consolatione, copulaverunt desolationem cum desolatione et consolationem cum consolatione.* Examples of the variations in the MSS. may be seen in Dr. Neubauer's *Catalogue of Heb. MSS. in the Bodleian Library*, Nos. 5, 7, 17, 2323.

I. Tabulated lists exhibiting the Canon of the Old Testament—(A) in the Eastern Church,
(B) in the Western Church.

(A) EASTERN CHURCH.

HEBREW CANON. Talmud.	Spanish Rite.	German Rite.	Josephus, c. 4p. i. 8 (c. 95 A.D.)	Melito, Ep. Sard. (c. 180 A.D.), ap. Eus. II, E. IV, 26.	Origen (185 A.D.), ap. Eus. H. E. VI. 25.	Athanasius (1373 A. D.), Ep. Fest. xxxix.
I. Law: 5 books. II. Prophets: 8 books. i. Earlier Prophets: Josh. Jud. Sam. Kings. ii. Later Prophets: Jer. Ezek. Isa. xii Prophets: Hos. Joel Amos Obad. Jon. Mich. Neh. Zeph. Hagg. Zech. Mal.	Gen. . . . Jer. Ezek. Isa. xii Proph.: Chron. Psa. Job Prov. Ruth Cant. Ecdl. Lam. Dan. Ezr.— Nehem.	Gen. . . . Isa. Jer. Ezek. xii Proph.: Psa. Prov. Job Cant. Ruth Lam. Ecdl. Esth. Dan. Ezr.— Nehem. Chron.	I. Law: 5 books. II. Prophets: 13 books. III. <i>ὑμνοὶ εἰς τ. θ. καὶ τ. δ. θ.</i> <i>βιβλῆαι τοῦ βίβλ:</i> 4 books —23	Pent. Gen. Ex. Num. Lev. Deut. Josh. Jud. Ruth. 4 Kings 2 Chron. libb. Sol. Prov. (i.e. Wisd.; v.l. + 'Wisd.')	Pent. Josh. Jud. Ruth 1, 2 Kings 3, 4 Kings 1, 2 Chron. 1, 2 Ecdl. Psa. Prov. Ecdl. Cant. Isa. Jer. Lam. + Ep. Dan. Ezek. Job Esth. = 23 Heb. Lett. Macc.	Pent. Josh. Jud. Ruth 4 Kings 2 Chron. 2 Ecdl. Psa. Prov. Ecdl. Cant. Job xii Proph. Isa. Jer. + Bar. Lam. + Ep. Ezek. Dan. = 23 Heb. Lett. N.B.—τῇ τῶτα καὶ τῇ δὲ μὲν.

xii Proph. is
omitted by mis-
take. [Ruf. H.
E. vi. 18, inserts
them after Cant.]

[= 23]
Melito enquires:
*πόσα τὸν ἀριθμὸν
καὶ ὁνομα τὴν
τάξιν.*

EASTERN CHURCH (*continued*).

Gregory Nasian- zen (†391 A.D.), <i>Conc. Sect. I.</i> xii. 5 ff.	Amphilochius, Episc. Icon. (c. 380 A.D.), <i>Lambd.</i> <i>ad Scienc.</i>	Leontius of By- santium ¹ (or Theodorus, end of cent. vi), <i>De</i> <i>Sectis Act. II.</i>	Nicephorus, Patr. Constant. (†868 A.D.), <i>Chronogr.</i> <i>Bren. 2</i>	Cyril Hierosol. (†386 A.D.), <i>Catech. iv. 35.</i>	Epiphanius, Ep. Salamin. (†423 A.D.), <i>Pond. &</i> <i>Men. 4.</i>	Epiphanius, Ep. Salamin. (†423 A.D.), <i>Haer. viii.</i> <i>6.</i>	Joannes Damas- cenus (†750 A.D.), <i>De Fid.</i> <i>Orth. iv. 17.</i>
12 libb. histor.: Oct. Kings (2 vols.) Chron. Ecd. 5 libb. metr.: Job Psa. Dav. 3 libb. Sol.: Ecd. Prov. 5 libb. prophet.: = 22 Heb. Lett.	Pent. Josh. Jud., Ruth 4 Kings. 2 Chron. 2 Ecd. 5 libb. metric. xii Proph. min. 4 Proph. mag. Ecd.	12 libb. histor.: Pent. Gen. Ex. Num. Lev. Deut. Josh. Jud. Ruth 4 Kings (2 vols.) Chron. Ecd. 5 libb. prophet.: Isa. Jer. Ezek. Dan. xii Proph. 4 libb. hortat.: Job (acc. to someby Jose- phus) Prov. Sol. Ecd. Cant. 1 libb. hymn. (<i>ἑρὸς τὸ ψαλ-</i> <i>λῶν</i>) Psa. = 22	Pent. Josh. Jud., Ruth 3, 4 Kings 1, 2 Chron. 1, 2 Ecd. Psa. Prov. Sol. Ecd. Cant. Job Isa. Jer. Baruch Ezek. Dan. xii Proph. = 22 + 3 Maec. + Wisd. + Ecdus. + Psa. & Od. Sol. Ecd. + Judith + Susan. + Tobit	12 libb. histor.: Pent. Josh. Jud., Ruth 1, 2 Kings 3, 4 Kings 1, 2 Chron. 1, 2 Ecd. Ecd. 5 libb. metr.: Job Psa. Prov. Ecd. Cant. 5 libb. prophet. Isa. Jer. Ezek. Dan. xii Proph. = 22 + Bar. + Lam. + Ep. Ezek. Dan. = 22	4 Pentateuchs + 2 libb. 5 <i>νομιστὰ</i> 5 <i>συναγῆς</i> or <i>δυναγῆς</i> : Josh. Jud., Ruth 1, 2 Kings 3, 4 Kings 1, 2 Chron. 5 <i>συναγῆς</i> : Job Psa. Prov. Sol. Ecd. Cant. 2 Chron. xii Proph. Isa. Jer. Lam. + Ep. + Bar. Ezek. Dan. Ecd. 2 Ecd. Ecd. = 27 Heb. Lett. (22 + 5 doubled). + Wisd. (<i>ἡ Παράφρασις</i>) + Ecdus.	Pent. Josh. Jud. Ruth Job Psa. Prov. Sol. Ecd. Cant. 4 Kings 2 Chron. xii Proph. Isa. Jer. Lam. + Ep. + Bar. Ezek. Dan. Ecd. 2 Ecd. Ecd. = 27 Heb. Lett. (22 + 5 doubled). + Wisd. (<i>ἡ Παράφρασις</i>) + Ecdus.	4 Pentateuchs + 2 libb. 5 <i>νομιστὰ</i> 5 <i>συναγῆς</i> or <i>δυναγῆς</i> : Josh. Jud., Ruth 1, 2 Kings 3, 4 Kings 1, 2 Chron. 5 <i>συναγῆς</i> : Job Psa. Prov. Sol. Ecd. Cant. 2 Chron. xii Proph. Isa. Jer. Lam. + Ep. + Bar. Ezek. Dan. Ecd. 2 Ecd. Ecd. = 27 Heb. Lett. (22 + 5 doubled). + Wisd. (<i>ἡ Παράφρασις</i>) + Ecdus.

¹ See Loofs' *Leontius v. Byzanz.* (*Texte u. Unters.* iii. 203).² Probably found by Nicephorus in connexion with a list of the Patriarchs of Antioch (Oreider, *Kan.* p. 242).

EASTERN CHURCH (continued).

<p>Elbed Jesu (†1318 A.D.), <i>Catal. Lib. Omn. Eccles.</i></p>	<p><i>Synops. Sacr. Script.</i> (attributed to Chrysostom and thought to be his by Credner, <i>Can.</i> p. 228 f.).</p>	<p>Junilius (c. 551 A.D.), following Paul of Nisibis, who probably follows Theodore of Mopsuestia, <i>Int. Regni. Div. Leg.</i> i. 3-6.</p>	<p><i>Catal. Cod. Baroc.</i> 206 (more probably Anastasius Sinaita [Credner, <i>Kan.</i> p. 240] than Nicephorus [Coxe]).</p>	<p>ἀνεκσυζητάτα Apostolic Consti- tutions (not ne- cessarily in order).</p>
<p>Pent. Josh. Jud. Sam. Kings Chron. Ruth Pss. Dav. Prov. Sol. Eccl. Cant. + Ecclus. + Wisd. Job Isa. Hos. Joel Amos Obad. Jon. Mic. Nah. Hab. Zeph. Hagg. Zech. Mal. Jer. Ezek.</p>	<p>libb. histor.: Oct. 4 Kings [2 Kings ap. Heb.] 17 libb. prophet.: 150 Pss. Hos. Isa. Joel Amos Obad. Jon. Mich. Nah. Hab. Zeph. Jer. Ezek. Isa. Hagg. Zech. Mal. 2 libb. Proverb.: Prov. Sol. + Ecclus. doct. simp. Eccl.</p>	<p>12 libb. histor.: Oct. 4 Kings [2 Kings ap. Heb.] 17 libb. prophet.: 150 Pss. Hos. Isa. Joel Amos Obad. Jon. Mich. Nah. Hab. Zeph. Jer. Ezek. Isa. Hagg. Zech. Mal. 2 libb. Proverb.: Prov. Sol. + Ecclus. doct. simp. Eccl.</p>	<p>Pent. Josh. Jud., Ruth 4 Kings } Chron. } Job } Pss. } Prov. } Eccl. } Cant. } Esd. } Hos. Amos Mic. Joel Jon. Obad. Nah. Hab. Zeph. Hagg. Zech. Mal. Isa. Jer. Ezek. Dan. = 34</p>	<p>(O.T. and N.T., 80 in all). + Wisd. + Ecclus. 4 Macc. Esth. Judith Tobit [9 outside the 60]. Also 14 Apo- cryphal.</p>

and of the Writings of Cyprian.

EASTERN CHURCH (*continued*).

Can. Apost. (ratified 692 A.D.)	Conc. Laodiceum (363 A.D.; list probably added later)	Cod. N:	Cod. A (Index)	Cod. B.	Cod. C.
<p>Hept. Ruth 4 Kings 2 Chron. 2 Ecd. Esth. Judith 3 Macc. Job 150 Ps. Prov. Ecd. Cant. Ecclus.</p>	<p>Pent. Josh. Ruth Esth. 1, 2 Kings 3, 4 Kings 2 Chron. 2 Ecd. 150 Ps. Prov. Sol. Ecd. Cant. Job xii Proph. Isa. Jer. + Bar. + Lam. + Epp. + Ezek. Dan. = 22</p>	<p>Fragments of Gen. } Num. } Chron. } 2 Ecd. } Neh. } Esth. } + Tobit } + Judith } + 1 Macc. } + 4 Macc. } Isa. } Jer. } Lam. } Joel } Obad. } Jon. } Nah. } Hab. } Zeph. } Hagg. } Zechar. } Mal. } 151 Ps. Prov. Ecd. Cant. + Wisd. + Ecclus. Job</p>	<p>Oct. 6 libb. histor.: 4 Kings 2 Chron. 16 libb. prophet.: xii Proph.: Isa. Jer. } + Bar. } Lam. } + Ep. } Ezek. } Dan. + Esth. + + Tobit } + Judith } + 1 Ecd. } 2 Ecd. } Neh. } + 4 Macc. } 151 Ps. (+ Cant., including Orat. Manasse) Job Prov. Ecd. Cant. + Wisd. + Ecclus.</p>	<p>Oct. 4 Kings 2 Chron. + 1 Ecd., Neh. 2 Ecd., Neh. 151 Ps. Prov. Ecd. Cant. Job + Wisd. + Ecclus. Esth. + + Judith xii Proph. Isa. Jer. } + Bar. } Lam. } + Ep. } Ezek. } Dan.</p>	<p>There still remain portions of Job Prov. Ecd. Cant. + Wisd. + Ecclus.</p>
				<p>Cod. B has the sub- scription βιβλ. παλαι- ων, but gives Ps. cli. over the page; Codd. N A give the number as p^{ra}</p>	

(B) WESTERN CHURCH.

Jerome († 430), <i>Prolog. Galat.</i>	Index Cheltonianus († 359 A.D.)	Conc. Carthaginiense III. (397 A.D.)	Augustine († 430), <i>De Doct. Christ.</i> II. 12.	Index Cod. Claromont. (Cent. VI.)	<i>Antiqua translatio, ap. Cassiodorus</i> (c. 540-553), <i>Inst. Div. Lit.</i> I. 4.
Pent. 8 libb. prophet. : Josh. Jud., Ruth Sam. Kings Isa. Jer. Ezek. xii Proph. 9 Hagio-grapha Ps. Dav. libb. Sol. Prov. Eccl. Cant. Dan. Chron. Exr. Esth. = 22 Heb. Lett., or 27 adding the 5 double books. Some make 24 (= Elders of Apoc.) by counting Ruth and Lam. among Hagio- grapha.	Hept. Gen. Ex. Num. Lev. Deut. Josh. Jud. Ruth 4 Kings 2 Chron. Job Ps. Dav. 5 libb. Sol. xii Proph. Isa. Jer. Ezek. Dan. Tobit Esth. + Judith 151 Ps. [5] libb. Sol. 4 Proph. Maj. : Isa. Jer. Dan. Ezek. xii Proph. = 24 Elders of Apoc.	Hept. Ruth 4 Kings 2 Chron. Job Ps. Dav. 5 libb. Sol. xii Proph. Isa. Jer. Ezek. Dan. Tobit Esth. + Judith 2 Eccl. + Macc.	Pent. Josh. Jud. Ruth 4 Kings 2 Chron. Job + Tobit Esth. + Judith + 2 Macc. libb. prophet. Ps. Dav. 3 libb. Sol. : Prov. Cant. Eccl. + Wisd. + Ecclus. xii Proph. Jer. Ezek. Dan. 1, 2, 4 Macc. + Judith Eccl. Esth. Job + Tobit = 44	Oct. 4 Kings 2 Chron. Ps. Dav. Prov. Eccl. Cant. + Wisd. + Ecclus. xii Proph. Hos. Amos Mic. Joel Obad. Jon. Nah. Hab. Zeph. Hagg. Zeach. Mal. Isa. Jer. Ezek. Dan. 1, 2, 4 Macc. + Judith Eccl. Esth. Job + Tobit = 44	<i>Antiqua translatio, ap. Cassiodorus</i> (c. 540-553), <i>Inst. Div. Lit.</i> I. 4. Oct. 4 Kings 2 Chron. Ps. Dav. 5 libb. Sol. : Prov. + Wisd. + Ecclus. Eccl. Cant. Isa. Jer. Ezek. Dan. xii Proph. Job + Tobit Esth. + Judith + 2 Macc. = 44 70 books in all of O. & N.T. = palm- trees of Elim.

1 Lib. i. (*Inst.*), libb. v. (*Cod. Amiat.*)

WESTERN CHURCH (*continued*).

Hilary of Poitiers (1368), <i>Prolog. in Psal.</i> 15.	Rufinus Aquileiensis (c. 410 A.D.), <i>Comm. in Symb. Apost.</i> 36.	Innocent I. (405 A.D.), <i>Ad Exsuper.</i>	Decretum Gelasianum (496 A.D.?) ¹	Cassiodorus, <i>Inst. Dio. Litt.</i> 1-9.
Pent. Josh. Jud. 1, 2 Kings 3, 4 Kings 2 Chron. Ecd. Pss. Prov. Sol. Ecd. Cant. xii Proph. Isa. Jer. } Lam. } + Ep. } Dan. Ezek. Job Ecd. Jer. } Lam. } + Ep. } Dan. Ezek. Job Ecd. Jer. } Lam. } + Ep. }	Pent. Josh. Jud., Ruth 4 Kings [2 vols. in Heb.] Chron. Ecd. Esth. Isa. Jer. Ezek. Dan. xii Proph. Job Pss. Dav. 3 libb. Sol.: Prov. Ecd. Cant. [= 22]	Pent. Josh. Jud. 4 Kings Ruth 16 Proph. 5 lib. Sol. Pss. libb. histor. Job Tobit + Tobit Esth. + Judith + 2 Maec. 2 Ecd. 2 Chron. The genuineness of this list is not entirely above suspicion, but seems probable.	Pent. Josh. Jud. Ruth 4 Kings 2 Chron. 150 Pss. 3 libb. Sol.: Prov. Ecd. Cant. Wisd. Ecd. 16 Proph. Isa. Jer. Ezek. Dan. libb. histor. Job + Tobit Esth. + Judith 2 Ecd. + 2 Maec.	Oct. 4 Kings libb. prophet.: Isa. Jer. Ezek. Dan. xii Proph. Pss. libb. Sol.: Prov. Ecd. Cant. Wisd. Ecd. Hagiographa: Job Tobit Esth. Judith Maec. 2 Ecd.

¹ The best view hitherto appeared to be that of Hefele, *Conc. Gesch.* ii. 610-622 (ed. 2, 1875), according to which the *Decretum* was composed at different times, the part containing the list of books in its earliest form going back to Damasus. It has however been recently argued, on grounds which are said to carry considerable weight, that the work is in no sense official, but of private origin, and not composed before 533 A.D. (see Krüger in *Theol. Jahrbuch*, 1889, *Kirchengesch.* p. 27). In any case there is much to be said for Dr. Westcott's caution that the list of Canonical Books has less authority than that of the books outside the Canon.

The lists thus collected furnish much matter for reflection. But before we approach the consideration of them in detail it is necessary first to say a few words by way of introduction. The variations of order in the Books of the Old and New Testaments point back to a critical moment in the history of the Biblical texts—the moment when they were transferred from rolls written for the most part on papyrus to *codices* written for the most part on vellum. The remains of ancient books which have been discovered among the ashes of Herculaneum and Pompeii and those which have been found in the Egyptian tombs are, if I mistake not, without exception in the form of the roll such as may be seen in the hands of the well-known Vatican Demosthenes. On the other hand, so far as I can remember, every single Biblical MS. now extant was originally whole or part, not of a roll but of a book which in outward shape and mechanical arrangement did not differ from our own. Even the fragments of the papyrus Psalter now in the British Museum, which Tischendorf thought to be as old as the oldest vellum MSS. (*quo nullus codicum sacrorum antiquior videtur*¹), but which the Palaeographical Society's editors more probably assign to the sixth or seventh century², I imagine are not an instance to the contrary. Neither I gather are the still smaller fragments of the supposed Apocryphal Gospel discovered among the Fayûm papyri³. Now the obvious difference between rolls and *codices* is that the latter might easily be made to hold much more written matter than the former. Hence while the roll, as a rule, only held a single book, and the length of books was adapted to the ordinary size of the rolls, a *codex* on the other hand would hold a number of books collected together in a single volume. The only bond of union for a collection of rolls was the case in which they were contained. But under these conditions there would be no particular order: one volume might

¹ *Proleg. in V. T. Græc.* p. lx.

² *Pal. Soc.* i. 38: see the Table of Contents for corrected date.

³ Bickell in *Texte u. Untersuch.*, v. 4. p. 487.

be taken out first at one time, another at another: the volumes might be numbered or marked in some way, but that had nothing to do with the structure of the case in which they were preserved. When the sheets of skin came to be folded and sewn together within the same binding all this was changed. Then the book which was written first always retained its place, and the others followed in regular sequence. Of course there might be a theoretical order in which the rolls were to be taken out of their case; and that order might, as we have said, be indicated upon the roll; but where there was no such theoretical order, which came first would be a matter of accident. The transference of a text from the roll to the *codex* was in that case the first step towards fixing the order of its different parts.

It is an interesting question at what date this transference took place. It was clearly an event which affected the whole body of literature, and in a special sense the Books of the Bible, because their order and sequence were not in many cases determined for them by their subject-matter. Birt, to whom belongs the honour of first bringing out the significance of these facts, placed the time of transition about the middle of the fourth century¹. Jerome, he said, was the first scholar to possess a whole library in *codices*. He also pointed out how Acacius and Euzoius in the middle of the century found it necessary to renew upon parchment the worn-out collection of Origen's books at Caesarea (*corruptam jam bibliothecam Originis in membranis instaurare*)². These are no doubt two important landmarks. Yet in the case of the Bible at least we must go back beyond the middle of the fourth century. Bibles, which were in constant use, would need to be made of strong material; and the form of the *codex* would be more compact and convenient than that of the roll. Hence, as Birt remarks, the Sacred Books of the Christians (liturgical books as well as

¹ *Das antike Buchwesen*, p. 115.

² *De Vir. Ill.* cxiii. A trace of Euzoius' work still remains in a MS. of Philo (see Cohn. *Philon. Alex. Libell. de Opif. Mundi*, p. ii).

Bibles), and law-books would naturally be the first to be systematically written in bound volumes formed by the stitched sheets of vellum. There is abundant historical evidence that this was the case. The First persecuting Edict of Diocletian, issued in Feb. 303, was aimed specially against the Christian Books. But we have a number of documents—mainly Acts of Martyrs and documents relating to the beginnings of the Donatist controversy—which describe the course of the persecution which followed. These show at once what a number of *codices* the Christian Churches must have possessed. Take for instance the account of a police raid at Cirta (now Constantine) in Numidia, commonly known as the *Gesta apud Zenophilum* ¹. A demand is made for books: the library of the Church is found empty, but the police go on to pay domiciliary visits to the houses of the Church officials. One Catulinus brings out a 'very large *codex*' (*codicem unum pernitium majorem*: shall we say like the Codex Amiatinus?). Eugenius produces four *codices*; Felix, five; Victorinus, eight; Projectus, five large and two small (all *codices*, be it remarked). Victor the school-master (*grammaticus*) brings out two *codices* and four 'quinions' (i.e. apparently the loose sheets, or gatherings, not yet sewn together into a book). Coddeo is not at home, but his wife gives the constables six *codices*. All this is the product of a single round. And many other data of the same kind, though not perhaps quite so striking, may be adduced ². A few instances occur of rolls, but *codices* largely predominate. The change then, so far at least as Church books are concerned, was already accomplished at the beginning of the fourth century, and is thus thrown back some way into the third. Yet we cannot go beyond the beginning of that century; for

¹ Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* iv. 320 ff.

² For further details I may perhaps be allowed to refer to an *Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament* which I have for some time been preparing. This part was written before the appearance of Zahn's recent volume in which he has called attention to some of the same phenomena. But the real merit belongs to Birt: we have only applied his investigations to the New Testament.

236 *The Cheltenham List of the Canonical Books,*

it is clear from the language used by the Roman lawyers that at that date papyrus rolls were still the rule and anything else the exception. It has to be explained that in legacies under the term 'books' are included not only rolls of papyrus but *membranae et philyrae* (i.e. parchment and tablets prepared from the bark of the linden-tree): *codices* also are to go with the bequest because under the name 'books' are to be reckoned not only *volumina chartarum* (the technical terms for papyrus rolls), but any written matter of a given length¹. We gather from this that the vellum *codex* was coming in, but was not yet common.

It has been said that the order of volumes in any particular case might be determined independently of their mechanical arrangement. Such would seem to have been the case with the Old Testament. There is said to have been a tradition on the subject which was already commented upon by the Talmudists of the third century². The order of the Books would seem to have been to some extent fixed when Melito made his journey to Palestine with the express object of finding out 'what was the number and what the order' of the different parts of the Sacred Volume. And Athanasius again implies that there was a more or less settled order when he begins his catalogue by saying that the Books are 'in order and name' as he enumerates them³. Still our lists show that there was a good deal of variety. We see how different principles of arrangement were at work, and covered some a greater area and some a less. The Jews reckoned twenty-four books to the Old Testament. According to Fürst⁴ this reckoning was derived from Babylonia. It is however already found in 4 Ezra xiv. 44 (in the Syriac and Arabic versions⁵,

¹ *Pauli Sentent.* iii. 6. 87 (ed. Krüger).

² Rab (c. 167-247 A.D.) and Johanan (c. 199-279 A.D.). See Fürst, *Kan. d. A. T.* p. 4.

³ Ap. Westcott, *Can.* p. 554.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*

⁵ It is natural to ask what is the relation of the Arabic to the Syriac version? Antecedently we might have expected that they would not be independent

not in the Latin, Armenian, or Aethiopic). How it came there must be left an open question. Among Christian writers we find it in Hilary of Poitiers, Jerome, and the Cheltenham Index; to which must be added Victorinus Petavionensis, whose commentary on the Apocalypse was written before the persecution of Diocletian, to which he fell a victim, and Pseudo-Tertullian. The number may have been originally suggested by the Jewish tradition, with which Jerome at least would be familiar. The Christian writers, however, do not associate it with the same allegories as the Jews¹, but give explanations of their own. The coincidence here between Jerome and the Cheltenham Index is remarkable. The obvious conclusion would be that Jerome is the source from which the number in the Index is derived, together with the reference to the 'twenty-four elders.' This conclusion however is by no means certain, or rather it is distinctly improbable. There are two broadly marked stages in the tradition as it appears in the Cheltenham MS.: the first is that of the *maiores* or immediate predecessors of the writer himself; and then behind these there are the *seniores*², who seem to be no other than 'the elders'

authorities: the point does not seem to have been fully considered by the Editors. The reading in question is one which might throw light on the origin of these versions.

¹ The Rabbis regarded the 24 books as symbolised in the 24 'watches' of the Temple (Neh. xii. 9, etc.), which were again connected with Eccl. xii. 11, or with the 24 ornaments of the 'daughters of Zion' (i.e. the Synagogue) in Isa. iii. 18 ff. (Fürst, p. 3).

² There is at first sight a little difficulty in the change from *maiores* to *seniores*. The author probably made deliberate use of different words in order to distinguish the different times of which he is speaking. It is however interesting to note that there is a like interchange in the African texts: *maiores natu* occurring in Mark viii. 31 (k), Luke vii. 3 (e), xx. 1 (e), and *seniores* in Mark xi. 27 (k), xiv. 43, 53 (k), xv. 1 (k). Compare also the Latin version of Firmilian's letter to Cyprian, ed. Hartel, p. 812, l. 22 (*seniores*), p. 814, l. 30 (*maiores natu*). I rather doubt if *maiores natu* would have occurred in any other than an African document. The second *seniores* must I think correspond to the *seniores* so often mentioned in the Latin Irenaeus, etc. I agree with Zahn, as against Weiss, that it is impossible to make it refer to the elders of the Apocalypse. [Zahn has since withdrawn his view and now takes *seniores* in both places of the elders of the Apocalypse (*Gesch. d. Kan.* ii. 148 n).]

of the generation succeeding the Apostles, of whom we hear so much in the literature of the second century. But if this is so, we are carried back some way beyond Jerome. That the numbering twenty-four Books was really current in Christian circles before Jerome is clear from the words of Victorinus: *Alae senae sunt testimonia veteris testamenti librorum, ideoque viginti quatuor faciunt tot numeros, quot et seniores super tribunalia . . . sunt autem libri veteris testamenti qui accipiuntur viginti quatuor, quos in epitomis Theodori invenies*¹. Not only does Victorinus himself adopt the reckoning, but he refers back for it to an older work, the *Epitomae of Theodorus*. It appears natural and almost obvious to identify this with the *Epitomae ex Theodoto* which are printed with the works of Clement of Alexandria², and which Zahn supposes to have originally belonged to Book VIII of the *Stromateis*; nor is it quite decisive against this identification that the passage in question is not found in the *Epitomae* as they have come down to us. Whether or not they have this origin, the *Epitomae* of Victorinus are an authority older than the year 300. The poem of Pseudo-Tertullian against Marcion (which is thought to have been written in the third quarter of the fourth century) has the same number and the same allegory³. Hilary, it will be observed, gives a different interpretation of the number, bringing in the Greek alphabet instead of the Hebrew, but the number itself he probably got from the same ancient tradition as Victorinus, Pseudo-Tertullian, and the Cheltenham List.

The dominant reckoning in the early Church was clearly twenty-two books, corresponding to the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet (not counting doubles). This reckoning appears in Melito, Origen, Athanasius, Cyril of Jerusalem, Epiphanius, Gregory Nazianzen, Leontius, Nicephorus, John of Damascus; in other words, all over the East. When we

¹ Vict. Petav. ed. Migne. *Patr. Lat.* v. 325. I owe this important reference and the next to Zahn.

² *Suppl. Clement.* p. 129.

³ iv. 194-200; Comp. Oxé. *Proleg. de Carm. adv. Marc.* 1888, pp. 6, 33.

remember that it is also found in Josephus, that Origen was in communication with Jews, and that Epiphanius possessed some knowledge of Hebrew, we can have little doubt that it represents a tradition of the Palestinian (and probably also of the Alexandrian) Jews, and that it was ultimately derived from them. Hilary of Poitiers was in such intimate relations with Athanasius and the leaders of the Nicene party that we cannot wonder at his expressing the same idea, and the striking coincidence between Jerome and Epiphanius would naturally arise from the identity of the conditions by which they were surrounded—Epiphanius at Eleutheropolis and Jerome at Bethlehem, i.e. about twenty-five miles from each other, though they were not both in Palestine quite at the same time. Among the widespread *consensus* of the Eastern Church there is clearly marked off a group within the group of Palestinian writers, and consisting of Epiphanius, Jerome, and John of Damascus, who raise the twenty-two books to twenty-seven, but still keep up the parallelism to the Hebrew alphabet by adding on the one hand the double books and on the other hand the letters which might be regarded as doubles. There is a difference on one point as to the way in which the doubles are taken. The three writers are all agreed as to the double letters (Caph, Mem, Nun, Pe, Sade, *Prol. Galeat.*), but the pairs of books stand thus :—

EPIPHANIUS AND JOHN OF DAMASCUS.	JEROME.
Judges }	1, 2 Sam.
Ruth }	1, 2 Kings
1, 2 Kings	1, 2 Chron.
3, 4 Kings	1, 2 Esd.
1, 2 Chron.	Jer. }
1, 2 Esd.	Lam. }

We seem to have here two slightly divergent forms, which might be called respectively Jewish and Hellenistic, of the same tradition. Jerome, as we should expect, draws from the first; Epiphanius and John Damascene from the second.

The latter writers are clearly not independent of each other. Epiphanius, it is true, curiously puts Chronicles before Kings, and puts the poetical books before the Hagiographa, but the essential structure of the two lists is evidently the same; and in both cases Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus are placed outside the list and described in equivalent language. John of Damascus has in fact simply given a rather free paraphrase of his predecessor.

The identity of structure in the lists of which we are speaking comes out on a point on which we have not as yet laid stress—the deliberate arrangement in Pentateuchs. This might be said to be characteristic not only of Palestine but specially of Jerusalem. It is found before Epiphanius in Cyril of Jerusalem, and before John of Damascus in another inmate of the same cloister, Leontius, whose common epithet ‘Leontius of Byzantium’ disguises the fact that he spent most of his days in the monastery of St. Saba which overlooks the gorge of the Kedron. Traces of this arrangement, however, less completely carried out, appear in Gregory Nazianzen and Amphilochius; so that the germs of it would seem to have travelled into Asia Minor. Nothing corresponding to it is found in the West; and it does not seem to have exercised any influence on the Cheltenham List.

Jerome cannot be classed with the writers of the West. The tradition which he represents is the Hebrew tradition. He has adhered to this closely, except that to keep the number 22 he reduces the Hagiographa from 11 to 9 by uniting, according to Hellenistic usage, Ruth to Judges, and Lamentations to Jeremiah. At the same time he distinctly notes the fact that there were some who separated these books and placed them among the Hagiographa, so making the total number 24, with the Elders of the Apocalypse. This higher total, as we have seen, has passed into the Cheltenham List. The other reckonings need not detain us. Augustine makes a total of 44 books, counting each book in his Canon singly. This would agree with the result which Cassiodorus in rather obscure language ascribes to Hilary of Poitiers,

Rufinus, and Epiphanius, and Cod. Amiatinus to Hilary and Epiphanius, according to which the total of Old and New Testaments together was 70 books, corresponding to the 70 palm-trees of Elim¹. There is no connexion between this and the 60 books of Anastasius Sinaita or Cod. Baroc. 206. The classification of Junilius is based upon logical categories, and does not represent a tradition. The Roman lists which bear the names of Innocent and Gelasius, and the Spanish list of Isidore of Seville, do not give any numerical summary. We observe, however, that the massing together of 'sixteen Prophets' is common to all three; and in other respects they resemble each other. The Canon of Isidore probably had its origin in Rome.

There are several remarkable phenomena in the details of the Cheltenham List. Foremost among them is the peculiar order of the books, Numbers and Leviticus. Strange to say this has a parallel so far away as Melito and Leontius. The occurrence of these parallels shows that the phenomenon is not purely accidental. Most of the more fundamental peculiarities of the Latin Bible can be traced back to Syria. Here is one which must have been always confined to a few copies, but which was perpetuated through them in regions as far apart as Syria and Africa.

It is characteristic of the Cheltenham List to group together the several books of the Heptateuch². That this grouping is intentional is clearly seen from the stichometry.

Another characteristic point is the combining of Ruth with Kings rather than with Judges. For proof that this was done we turn again to the stichometry. Mommsen

¹ See the Essay on Cod. Amiatinus, *Stud. Bibl.* ii. 294. There is some confusion between the Hilarys: Cassiodorus speaks of the bishop of Poitiers, Cod. Amiat. of the bishop of Rome: the first is probably meant, though the Canon given is not his (Corssen in *Jahrb. f. prot. Theol.* 1883, p. 626).

² For references as to the use of the word *heptateuchus* (or *heptaticus*, as it often appears) see Mayor, *Latin Heptateuch*, p. xxxvi (1889). It seems to have been widely diffused.

remarked upon the apparent discrepancy between the single items for the Books of Kings and the total. This discrepancy is removed when we take in the (corrected) stichometry for Ruth. We thus obtain a further coincidence with St. Augustine, who speaks of the *libellus Ruth, qui magis ad Regnorum principium videtur pertinere*.

The recognition of two Books of Maccabees is not very distinctive except so far as it marks off the Cheltenham List from the list in Cod. Claromontanus. We cannot be quite sure that the omission of *lib. tertius* in this may not be accidental. The author of the list was evidently acquainted with four Books, as he speaks of *liber quartus*. If his omission of Lib. III was deliberate we should then have a parallel in the Apostolic Canons and in Nicephorus—another instance of the meeting of geographical extremes.

The order Tobit, Esther, Judith is again common in the Cheltenham List and St. Augustine, but is also shared by the Roman lists and Isidore of Seville.

The express mention of 151 Psalms stands over against an equally express mention of 150 Psalms in the Greek list added to the Canons of Laodicea and in that of the Apostolic Canons, with the Gelasian Decretal. It has a parallel in the MSS. N A B. The mention of five Books of Psalms is peculiar to Cod. Amiatinus. It is rejected by Hilary, and though known to was not adopted by Jerome. Krüger has noticed¹ the curious fact that in Lucifer's *Codex* the Books of Psalms seem to have been broken up, Pss. ix–lxi coming between Chronicles and Proverbs, Pss. lxxvii–cxviii between Proverbs and Wisdom, and Pss. cxxx–cxlv between Wisdom and Ecclesiastes—a sort of rough chronological arrangement according to the traditions of authorship. As however these divisions do not correspond to the actual arrangement in Books (the true breaks are at Pss. xli, lxxii, lxxxix, cvi), some doubt is thrown upon the whole theory.

The question as to the Books of Solomon must be allowed

¹ *Lucifer von Calaris*, p. 111 f. (Leipzig, 1886).

to stand over until we come to deal with the stichometry. If it was really intended to include five Books, the Cheltenham List would agree with nearly all the other Latin lists except Hilary and Jerome.

The last point we need notice is another link of connexion with St. Augustine—the placing of Daniel before Ezekiel. This is found also in Hilary of Poitiers.

Speaking summarily, we may say that the conspicuous features in the Cheltenham List are its points of contact with St. Augustine and its marked coincidence with St. Jerome as to the number of the Books, which may however have had an earlier origin.

II. THE CANON AND ORDER OF THE BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

The first question that meets us in passing to the New Testament is, what exactly we are to understand by the peculiar treatment of the Catholic Epistles? Two alternative views have been put forward. Zahn was of opinion that the author of the list had before him a catalogue containing the full number of three Epistles of St. John and two of St. Peter, but while himself transcribing this he at the same time inserted a protest in favour of the single Epistle in each case which he had himself been in the habit of recognising¹. Harnack speaks rather doubtfully, but appears to think it possible that in *una sola* (repeated) reference was originally intended to the two Epistles of St. James and St. Jude². Of these views I should have little hesitation in choosing the first. On the other hypothesis there is no sufficient reason for the epithet *sola*: single books in juxtaposition with double or multiple books are common enough throughout the lists and nowhere else have attention specially

¹ Cp. Mommsen, p. 148; *Z. f. kirchl. Wiss.*, p. 117.

² *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1886, col. 173.

called to them in this way. But we shall see before we have done that the list in its present form includes more than one stage in the history of the Canon: it contains both early elements and late elements: and here they meet side by side. That this is so is confirmed by the peculiar order, 1 St. John following directly upon Apocalypse, which we shall see to be an early order.

It would hardly repay us to draw out in full a table of parallel lists as we have done for the Old Testament. The Muratorian Fragment is the only New Testament list which is older than the fourth century, and by that time the lists did not differ very much in their contents. We need to go behind them if we are to come upon anything really significant. In seeking for this we shall probably do well to concentrate our attention upon each in turn of the salient points presented by the Cheltenham Index. These will be, (i) the omission of Hebrews, (ii) the inclusion of the Apocalypse, (iii) the abridged list of Catholic Epistles, (iv) the order of these Epistles, (v) the order of the Gospels, (vi) the order of the different parts of the collection.

The omission of Hebrews and inclusion of the Apocalypse at once mark the list as Western. At the same time both are consistent with any part of the West. So far as they are concerned, the list might have been made either in Gaul, Rome, or Africa. It seems however to be a fair inference that, if made in Africa, it was probably earlier than the Council of Carthage in 397, which expressly admits it as (in some sense) St. Paul's, though it is separated from the other Epistles. The influence of St. Augustine appears finally to have decided its place in the African Canon. By this time, too, it was pretty generally accepted. The high authority of Jerome was thrown into the scale in its favour. Without categorically asserting it to be St. Paul's, he contended strongly for its canonicity. It had been acknowledged before Jerome by Lucifer and Rufinus; it has the sanction of Pope Innocent, and appears in the Gelasian List.

There is therefore a clear presumption that a list which omits Hebrews is not later than the end of the fourth century.

A more special interest attaches to the treatment of the Catholic Epistles. Before going into further details, let us first take a survey of the position of these Epistles in the early Church. There was one quarter of the Christian world in which for a time at least no Epistles at all were admitted, except the collection which bore the name of St. Paul. The *Doctrine of Addai*, a work of the fourth or fifth century¹, which however clearly embodies a very ancient tradition, describes the primitive usage of the Church of Edessa: 'The Law and the Prophets and the Gospel in which ye read every day before the people, and the Epistles of Paul which Simon Cephas sent us from the city of Rome, and the Acts of the Twelve Apostles which John the son of Zebedee sent from Ephesus; in these writings shall ye read in the Churches of Christ, and along with them shall ye read nothing besides, because there is nothing else in which is written the truth which ye possess, besides these writings which ye hold fast in the faith to which ye are called².' We cannot be surprised that of the scattered writings which by degrees united to form the Greek Testament the outlying members should have been slow to reach the Syriac-speaking Church. Conservative feeling would gather round the oldest form in which the Scriptures had been introduced. And there would at the same time be a natural tendency to guard against the apocryphal Gospels and other books which were especially rife in Syria and Palestine. There are three stages in the history of the Syrian Canon. The first ignored the Catholic Epistles (and the Apocalypse) altogether. This is represented by the *Doctrine of Addai*

¹ It appears to be best assigned to the space between the years 390-430: see Tixeront, *Les Origines de l'Église d'Édessa*, p. 120 ff. (Paris, 1888). I am glad to have the opportunity of calling attention to this excellent piece of criticism from the school of the Abbé Duchesne.

² *Doct. Add.*, p. 46 (ap. Zahn, *Gesch. d. neutest. Kanons*, i. 373).

and by the Homilies of Aphraates, which are definitely dated between the years 336-345. The second stage is marked by the Peshitto Version, which has been called the Syriac Vulgate. As far back as this version can be traced it included three of the Catholic Epistles, St. James, St. Peter, 1 St. John. How far this stage overlapped the first it will need closer investigations than have yet been made to determine. The great body of the Syrian Church accepted the three Epistles which are found in the Bibles alike of the Nestorians and of the Jacobites who broke away from orthodox standards in the fifth and sixth centuries. The Alexandrian merchant Cosmas Indicopleustes after he had become a monk (535-547 A.D.) defended himself from the charge of not making use of the Catholic Epistles by appealing expressly to the practice of the Syrian Church, which accepted only the three Epistles¹. It has recently been proved, or at least made exceedingly probable, that the four disputed Epistles were first translated into Syriac as part of the Philoxenian Version, which took its name from the bishop of Hierapolis (Mabug), for whom it was made in the year 508. The Apocalypse seems to have been added in the revision of the Philoxenian by Thomas of Harkhel in 616². These were both Monophysite productions, and as late as the fourteenth century the Nestorian writer Ebed Jesu still preserves the old tradition which recognised no more than three Epistles. This is the third and last stage of the Syrian Canon. Ephrem in the fourth century stands († c. 373) rather outside it; he appears to have used the fuller Canon of the Greeks³. Yet later in the century even the Greek Church at Antioch clung to its narrower practice. Chrysostom used only the three Epistles; and Junilius reduces the three to two (1 St. Peter and 1 St. John). In this he appears to represent faithfully the master from whom his teaching was ultimately

¹ See the quotation in Credner, *Kan.*, p. 191.

² See Gwynn, *On a Syriac MS.*, in *Trans. of Irish Academy*, Dublin, 1886.

³ Westcott, *Can.*, p. 244, n.

derived, Theodore of Mopsuestia¹. Strictly speaking, therefore, we should have to subdivide the opinions current in the Syrian Church both during the second and third of our periods. In the second we should have to note the difference between Chrysostom, Theodoret, and the main body of the Church who accepted three Catholic Epistles, and Theodore with his follower Paul of Nisibis, and doubtless others who under the attraction of so great a name would accept only two.

In Palestine, Eusebius draws a distinction similar to that of Junilius (or Theodore). Junilius admits that 'very many (*quamplurimi*) add' the five Epistles. Eusebius, while classing 1 St. Peter, 1 St. John as alone among the 'acknowledged' books, places the five Epistles in the next grade to them as *γνώριμοι τοῖς πολλοῖς*². For the Churches of Asia Minor we have hardly any evidence between the second century and the latter part of the fourth. The evidence for 1 St. Peter and 1 St. John goes back to Papias and Polycarp and sub-apostolic times. Irenaeus too may be taken as embodying the witness of these Churches, and he distinctly recognises both Epistles. But for the rest a slight or doubtful allusion to 2 St. Peter by Firmilian, bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, is about all that meets us until we come to the writers of the later period of the Arian controversy. Gregory Nazianzen († 391) recognises seven Epistles; Amphilochius of Iconium (c. 380 A.D.) recognises seven, though he also notices the other opinion which limited them to three. Asia Minor thus reflects the state of things which was becoming more and more general throughout the East. The smaller collection of three Epistles is not yet suppressed; it survives with the greatest tenacity in the district of which Antioch was the centre: but the longer list is in the ascendant. On this side is thrown the weighty influence of Athanasius. On it are found ecclesiastical documents like the Apostolic

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 443; comp. Kihn, *Theodor von Mopsuestia*, p. 333 ff. (Freiburg i. B., 1880).

² *H. E.*, iii. 25. 3.

Canons and the list which came to be appended to the Canons of Laodicea. In Palestine a strong phalanx rallies round the longer list. It is adopted by Cyril of Jerusalem († 386), and after him by Epiphanius († 403). Leontius, who wrote from the famous monastery of St. Saba in the sixth century, adopts it. It is taken up by John of Damascus in the eighth, and endorsed by Nicephorus patriarch of Constantinople at the beginning of the ninth.

What was the ultimate centre in which this *consensus* originated? Was it in the home of Athanasius, or was it further north? It is quite possible that it began to strike root in several centres at once. But in any case Alexandria must have had a large share in it. It is there that we find the earliest traces of the minor Epistles. I rather hesitate to assume with Zahn that Clement in his *Hypotyposes* commented strictly upon all our present Catholic Epistles¹. True, Eusebius says that he 'commented on nearly the whole of the Canonical (ἐκδιαθήκην) Scripture, not omitting the disputed portions, viz. the Epistle of Jude and the rest of the Catholic Epistles²;' and Photius also states that the work consisted of interpretations of Genesis, Exodus, the Psalms, the Epistles of St. Paul, the Catholic Epistles (τῶν καθολικῶν), and Ecclesiastes³. But are we to take these expressions quite literally? Clearly if the description of Photius is correct we must discount very largely Eusebius' 'nearly the whole of the Canonical Scripture⁴.' Now a Latin version of notes on 1 Peter, Jude, 1, 2 John has come down to us, professedly from the *Hypotyposes*⁵. It appears probable that this version

¹ *Forschungen*, iii. 153; *Gesch. d. Kan.*, i. 310 f.

² *H. E.*, vi. 14. 1.

³ *Bibl. Cod.* 109.

⁴ A similar exaggeration is found in Cassiodorus: *Ferunt itaque scripturas dicinas V. et N. T. ab ipso principio usque ad finem Graeco sermone declarasse Clementem Alexandrinum nomine Stromateum, etc.* Cassiodorus had only seen a small part of this work: he spoke from hearsay, and was probably misled by the fact that it began with Genesis, and included the Catholic Epistles and the Epistles of St. Paul, which were all but the end of his own Bible.

⁵ Cassiodorus is made to say (*Inst.* 8) that he had Clement's notes translated on 1 Peter, 1 and 2 John, and *James* instead of Jude, but it seems simplest to suppose either that he made a slip of memory or that his text is corrupt.

was that of the genuine Clement made for Cassiodorius from the occurrence of one passage under Clement's name in the so-called *Parallela Sacra* of John of Damascus. The work in question may be an abridgement, but if it ever contained more Epistles than those named, Cassiodorius at least knew nothing of them. There is also the further coincidence that the Epistles omitted are just those of which no trace occurs in the rest of Clement's writings. All this raises a presumption against the strict accuracy of Eusebius; and when we remember that 'the Catholic Epistles' were not to him a fixed collection in the sense in which they are to us, and that he himself regarded both St. Jude and 2 St. John as disputed, his language seems to be sufficiently satisfied by the presence of comments on these Epistles. And if the description in Eusebius is satisfied, still more the less definite language of Photius. At any rate it does not seem to me safe to go beyond the warrant of our actually existing text. Zahn himself has surely supplied a warning against his own reconstruction when it leads him to interpose the treatment of several other Epistles between that of 1 and 2 St. Peter¹. I incline to think that Clement did not comment on more of the Catholic Epistles than are contained in the Latin Version, and that he dealt with them in the order in which they have come down to us, viz. 1 St. Peter, St. Jude, 1, 2 (not 3) St. John. I believe that Origen was acquainted with all the Catholic Epistles, but was aware of the existence of doubts about some of them, and did not care to commit himself to a direct affirmation about them. The clearest passage for 2 St. Peter, 2, 3 St. John is no doubt open to suspicion as having passed through the hands of Rufinus. Still in this particular portion Rufinus claims to have simply reproduced his original, and the passage has every appearance of being

¹ *Forsch.*, iii. 156. In this section I have freely used Zahn's data, though I differ from his conclusions. At the same time I admit that he has a case, and may possibly be right in his main position.

rendered literally¹. The trumpet-blasts which brought down the walls of Jericho are compared to those which are blown by Evangelists and Apostles in the books of the New Testament: 'Peter also rings loud with the two-fold trumpet of his Epistles, and with him James and Jude. Nor is this all, but in addition John too sounds the trumpet with his Epistles and Apocalypse, and Luke setting down in writing the Acts of the Apostles².' The text of these Homilies rests on good authority, so that I do not think we need pay much attention to a singular reading in the Jumièges MS. *ex tribus tubis* for *duabus* applied to St. Peter's Epistles: it would not be difficult to account for as a corruption. St. James Origen quotes in other places as a 'current' Epistle; St. Jude he quotes with a more decided ascription of authority; 2 St. Peter and 2, 3 St. John he does not quote and describes as doubtful³.

We have just seen that the Latin translation of the *Hypotyposes* contains comments on two Epistles only of St. John, and we declined to go behind this and to assume that Clement originally had before him three Epistles. It is quite true that the author of the Second Epistle must also have been the author of the Third, and that evidence for the one is practically evidence also for the other; but it is best to treat indirect evidence as really indirect and not to make it appear more than it is. We should naturally have expected that the two Epistles would circulate together. But it does not seem to have been so. The state of things in the West presents a remarkable parallel to what we find in the second century at Alexandria. The Muratorian Fragment expressly acknowledges 'a pair of Epistles with "John" for their title' (*superscripti Johannis duas*)⁴. Irenaeus quotes the First and Second Epistle, not the Third. In Africa too, though there are abundant traces of the First Epistle both in Tertullian and

¹ Cf. *Peror. Ep. ad Rom.*: *quae in Jesu Nave scripsimus simpliciter expressimus ut invenimus.*

² *Hom. in lib. Jesu Nave*, vii. 2.

³ *Eus., H. E.* vi. 25.

⁴ The MS. is corrupt here, and I should certainly myself prefer *superscriptae Johannis duas* as more simple and natural.

Cyprian, and though there is a clear quotation from the Second Epistle at the Council of Carthage (256 A.D.)¹, there is no trace whatever of the Third Epistle. Even as late as the fourth century Lucifer Calaritanus quotes several consecutive verses of the Second Epistle, but shows no sign of its companion. Priscillian also, though he quotes six out of the seven Epistles, does not quote 3 St. John. All this might be accident so far as the quotations are concerned, but it is not an accident in the Muratorian Fragment; and the phenomena seem to hang together. The so-called Damasus-recension of the Gelasian Decretal, the oldest MS. of which is of the eighth or ninth century, ascribes 2, 3 St. John to the Presbyter and not to the Apostle².

For 2 St. Peter there is no clear Ante-Nicene evidence in the West. It appears to have come in with the great collections in the next century. It is found in the lists of Philastrius of Brescia († c. 387) and of Rufinus († 410); it was included in the Canon of St. Augustine and St. Jerome; it appears in the Roman lists of Innocent and Gelasius, and it is found also in that of Isidore of Seville. Cassiodorus does not seem to have been acquainted with it except through the commentary of Didymus.

More remarkable than the protest of the Cheltenham List against 2 St. Peter is its complete silence about the Epistles of St. James and St. Jude. The reluctance of the author to follow the copy which he has before him seems to increase as he goes on. In the case of 2, 3 St. John and 2 St. Peter he contents himself with adding his own *una sola*, but when he comes to the two remaining Epistles he refuses to set them down at all. The two Epistles do not stand upon the same footing in regard to their history in the West. The Epistle of St. Jude is well attested both at Rome and Carthage. It is expressly recognised in the Muratorian Frag-

¹ Cypriani Opp., p. 459 (ed. Hartel).

² Hefele, ii. 619; Westcott, p. 573. So also a tradition known to St. Jerome (*Vir. Ill.* 18).

ment; Tertullian appeals to it by name; and it is clearly quoted by the anonymous writer against Novatian. These facts show that though it may not have been very widely known (there are no traces of it in Irenaeus, Cyprian, or Hippolytus, so far as extant writings go), it yet had a firm lodgment in certain quarters. The Epistle of St. James, on the other hand, though there are a good many coincidences with it which do not certainly prove use in the earliest Western literature—Clement of Rome and Hermas, from that point passes out of sight in the West until it reappears in the complete lists of the fourth and fifth centuries. In spite of this, however, I believe that it must have been known in the West for some time before this reappearance. I ground this belief on the diversity of the Latin texts in which it is found towards the end of the fourth century. Some of the materials bearing upon this point were collected in the first volume of *Studia Biblica*¹; but I should not like to pronounce definitely upon them until they can be taken along with a more comprehensive view of the Old-Latin Version as a whole, and especially of the place in it of the Catholic Epistles. In any case the absence of these two Epistles from the Cheltenham List must increase the probability that the compiler did his work before the year 400.

Having arrived at this point, and sufficiently explained the qualifications to which the evidence is subject, we may perhaps for the sake of clearness give a tabular view of the history of the disputed books. It must be understood that inferential evidence is not admitted: it therefore must not be assumed that silence necessarily means rejection. Express testimony is indicated by larger type; the fact of quotation only by smaller type. Doubtful recognition or recognition on a confessedly lower level is denoted by placing the book in question below a single line; express or clear exclusion is denoted by placing it below double lines. Where the order of the books is not clearly indicated that of our own Bibles is followed.

¹ See the two Essays on the Corbey St. James, pp. 113 ff., 233 ff.

[Advantage may be taken of a blank page to point out the interesting coincidences which would result if it were true, as suggested on p. 259, that the final digesting of the Canon of the Disputed Books, and especially of the Catholic Epistles, proceeded from Jerusalem. The data seem to tend in this direction. It will be seen that there is a striking resemblance between the Canon of Cyril of Jerusalem and the supposititious Canon of Laodicea—a resemblance which really runs through the Old Testament as well as the New. This resemblance extends to the omission of Apoc., which is supplied by Epiphanius. Nor can we help being struck by the few points which separate the Canon of Cyril of Jerusalem, both as to order and contents, from that of our own Bibles. Now Dr. Hort has shown how much the Church of Jerusalem contributed towards the composition of the Creed which wrongly bears the name of Nicaea. And we are reminded further of the important place which was held among the usages of the East by the Liturgy of St. James. This liturgy supplied the base of that which is still in use among the Syrian Jacobites, and the traces of it go back to St. Jerome¹. The difference in ultimate acceptance between it and the Nicene Creed would seem to be due to the fact that one did, and the other did not, make a conquest of Antioch and through Antioch of Constantinople. When the history of the Canon is thus viewed in connexion with the history of the Creeds and the history of liturgical usage, an interesting group of questions is raised, which will however need closer investigation.]

[¹ Duchesne, *Origines du Culte Chrétien*, p. 66 (Paris, 1889).]

II. Table showing the History of the Use and Acceptance in the Early Church of Ep. to Hebrews, the Catholic Epistles and the Apocalypse.

EASTERN CHURCH.

	ALEXANDRIA.	PALESTINE.	ANTIOCH AND SYRIA.	ASIA MINOR.	CONSTANTINOPLE.
A. D. 100	Clem.-Alex. Heb. 1 Pet. Jud. 1, 2 Jo. Apoc.	Justin Mart. Apoc.	Justin Mart. Apoc.	Papias. 1 Pet. 1 Jo. Apoc.	Polycarp. 1 Pet. 1 Jo.
200	Orig. Heb. 1 Pet. 1 Jo. Jud. Apoc.	Justin Mart. Apoc.	Justin Mart. Apoc. Oldest Syrian Canon, as in Doct. Addes. No Epp. Cath. or Apoc.	Polycarp. 1 Pet. 1 Jo. Apoc. An Anti-Montanist party (Alogi) reject Johannean writings. Firmilian. 1 Pet. 2 Pet. ?	

	Ath.	Did.	Rus.	Cyr.-Hieros.	Epiiph.	Conc. Laodic. (Can. addit. (after 363 A. D.))	Can. Apost.	Chrys., &c.	Theod.-Kops. per Junil., &c.	Greg.- Nasians., &c.	Amphiloch.- Leon.	
300	Heb. Jac. 1, 2, Pet. 1, 2, 3 Jo. Jud. Apoc.	Heb. Jac. 1, 2, Pet. 1, 2, 3 Jo. Jud.	Heb. 1 Pet. 1 Jo. Apoc. ? Jac. Jud. 2 Pet. 2, 3 Jo. Apoc. ?	Heb. Jac. 1, 2 Pet. 1, 2, 3 Jo. Jud. Apoc.	Heb. Jac. 1, 2 Pet. 1, 2, 3 Jo. Jud. Apoc.	Heb. Jac. 1, 2 Pet. 1, 2, 3 Jo. Jud.	Heb. Jac. 1, 2, 3 Jo. Jud.	Heb. Jac. 1, 2 Pet. 1, 2, 3 Jo. Jud.	Heb. Jac. 1 Pet. 1 Jo. Apoc.	Heb. Jac. 1, 2 Pet. 1, 2, 3 Jo. Jud.	Heb. Jac. 1 Pet. 1 Jo. 2 Pet. 2, 3 Jo. Jud.	Nicophorus (856-814 A. D.) Heb. 7 Epp. Cath.
400 or later			Leont.-Byz. (cent. vi.) Heb. 7 Epp. Cath. Apoc.	Jo.-Damasc. (cent. viii.) Heb. 7 Epp. Cath. Apoc.		Syr.-Philox. (568 A. D.) Heb. 7 Epp. Cath. Apoc.	Syr.-Harel. (616 A. D.) Heb. 7 Epp. Cath. Apoc.					

WESTERN CHURCH.

	ITALY AND SARDINIA.	AFRICA.	GAUL.	SPAIN.
A. D. 100	Clem.-Rom. Heb. Jac.? 1 Pet. 1 Pet. Herm. Jac.? 1 Pet. Apoc.? Fragm.-Murat. 1, 2 Jo. Jud. Apoc.		Ep. Vien. et Lugd. 1 Pet. Apoc. 1, 2 Jo. 1 Pet.	
200	Calusa. Heb. Apoc.	Tert. Apoc. 1 Jo. 1 Pet. Jud. Heb.	Cypr. 1 Pet. 1 Jo. Apoc.	Sentent. Episc. 2 Jo.

300	Lucif. Calarit. Heb. 1 Pet. 1, 2 Jo. Jud.	Philast. Brit. 1, 2 Pet. 1, 2, 3 Jo. Jud. Jac. Apoc.	Gaudent. Brit. Heb. Jac. 1 Jo.	Ambr. Heb. 7 Epp. Cath. Apoc.	Chromast. Jac. 1, 2, 3 Jo.	Ruth. Heb. 1, 2 Pet. Jac. Jud. 1, 2, 3 Jo. Apoc.	Hieron. Heb. 7 Epp. Cath. Apoc.	Ind. Othelom. Apoc. 1, 2, 3 Jo. [1 Jo.] 1, 2 Pet. [1 Pet.]	Optat. — Millev. Jac. [quoted as Pet.] 1 Jo.	Conc. Cartag. Heb. 1, 2 Pet. 1, 2, 3 Jo. Jac. Jud. Apoc.	Phoebad. Agrinens. Heb. 1 Jo. Apoc.	Hil.-Pictav. Heb. 1 Pet. 1 Jo. Apoc.	Pacian. Heb. 1 Pet. 1 Jo. Apoc.	Pricill. Heb. Jac. 1, 2 Pet. 1, 2 Jo. Jud. Apoc.
400 or later	Heb. 1, 2, 3 Jo. 1, 2 Pet. Jud. Jac. Apoc.	Innoc. I. Heb. 1, 2, 3 Jo. 1, 2 Pet. Jud. Jac. Apoc.	Gelas. I. Heb. Apoc. 1, 2 Pet. Jac. 1, 2, 3 Jo. Jud.	Aug. Heb. 7 Epp. Cath. Apoc.	Salvian. Heb. Jac. 1, 2 Pet. 1 Jo. Apoc.	Joann.-Cass. Heb. Jac. 1, 2 Pet. 1 Jo. Jud. Apoc.	Ild.-Hisp. Heb. 7 Epp. Cath. Apoc.							

The order of the Books of the New Testament has been exhibited so fully and carefully by Dr. C. R. Gregory (after Credner and Westcott) that we need do little more than refer to his collections ¹. He does not however bring out the point which is of most importance for our present enquiry. It is specially characteristic of the Cheltenham List that it places the Epistles (or Epistle) of St. John at the head of the Catholic Epistles and immediately after the Apocalypse. This is no doubt a survival from one of the very earliest stages in the history of the Western Canon, the attempt to form an *Instrumentum Joannis* corresponding to the collected body of St. Paul's Epistles. The phrase itself *Instrumentum Joannis* occurs in Tertullian, *De Resurrect.* 38: *Male Deum norunt qui non putant illum posse quod non putant, et tamen sciunt potuisse, si instrumentum Joannis norunt.* And it has been clearly proved, first by Credner, then by Volkmar in his additions to Credner, and lastly by Rönisch, that Tertullian had this arrangement ². There is also some probability that it was adopted by Irenaeus ³. The author of the Muratorian Fragment however does not appear conscious of this attempt to combine the Johannean writings. And if in the East Clement of Alexandria may have done so, it can only have been in a different manner by placing St. John's last among the Catholic Epistles, and then letting it be followed by the Apocalypse. We have some reason to believe that he took the first step, but I do not know of any proof that he took the second. I doubt if any safe inference can be drawn as to the order of the books in Cyprian. There is just this further trace of the old arrangement, that Innocent I. in his letter to Exsuperius ⁴ puts the three Epistles of St. John at the head

¹ *Proleg. to Tischendorf's N. T.*, ed. viii. p. 131 ff.

² Cp. Credner, *Gesch. d. neutest. Kanons*, pp. 82, 364-370, 402; Rönisch, *N. T. Tertullian's*, p. 528 ff. The arrangement is theoretical, and does not necessarily imply that Tertullian used a codex and not the rolls which predominated in his day (see above, p. 234).

³ Volkmar ap. Credner, p. 377 ff.

⁴ Ap. Westcott, p. 571.

of the Catholic Epistles; but all sense of the meaning of it has evidently been lost, because the Apocalypse comes after the Catholic Epistles and is separated from them by the Acts. It is rather surprising that Innocent should adopt the order he does, because the general tendency in the later Western lists, and the natural tendency especially at Rome, was to give the place of honour to St. Peter. How St. James came to take the lead in the East it is not quite easy to say. From the first appearance of the complete collection of seven Epistles it is the greatly predominant order. Nor is this merely the extension of an Antiochene order to Asia Minor and Constantinople. It is more firmly rooted at Jerusalem and in Palestine than at Antioch; and it has also the authority of Athanasius at Alexandria. Jerusalem is the Church in which it is most probable that precedence would be given to St. James; and it is possible that the collection of seven Epistles may have originated there: or if brought in the first instance from Egypt, it would seem to have been at Jerusalem that it first became established. I cannot however get beyond the region of speculation about this.

The order of the Gospels in the Cheltenham List is very peculiar. To the best of my belief the only parallels to it are the Curetonian Syriac and the so-called Commentary of Theophilus of Antioch, in the preface to which the Evangelical symbols are described in this order¹. It is possible that these coincidences may be accidental. When the Gospels first began to be written in *codices*, the order in which they came, unless it were determined by theoretical considerations, would be matter of accident. And the possible variations of four books are not so numerous that there would be any improbability in the independent occurrence of the same order in widely separated regions. It is however important to note, in the first place, that the order is such as would be produced by accident rather than by theory or reflection. The characteristically Western order—Matt., Joan., Luc., Marc.—which

¹ Zahn, *Forschungen*, ii. 31.

is found in the majority of Latin and Graeco-Latin MSS. (D, *a b e f f₂ q*), also in the Gothic Version and Apostolic Constitutions, and so far at least as the first two places are concerned in other authorities (D Paul. and Hilary of Poitiers), clearly rests upon the deliberate principle of placing the two Apostles first. The wide diffusion of this order in Western circles would tend to show that from the time when it was first fixed it was transmitted through copies made in *codices*: otherwise it would not have been preserved so free from variation. The sketch we have given of the incidents of Diocletian's persecution will show to what an extent the *codex*-form preponderated in the West. But if so, then it is very probable that an irregular order such as that of the Cheltenham List originated before the fixing of the order in *codices*, and apart from the main stream of Western transmission. The same would be true of the Curetonian Syriac. Are these two sets of phenomena—those of the fourth-century list and of the fifth-century MS.—connected? We cannot be sure that they are; but I am at the same time by no means sure that they are not. The points of contact between the Old-Latin Version and the older forms of the Syriac text are so many and so striking that they must have had a definite cause. Among the working hypotheses which well deserve to be kept in mind is the possibility that the first Latin Version of the New Testament may have been made, not on Latin ground at all, but in Antioch or Caesarea by some *notarius* or other Latin official in the suite of the provincial governor. Several facts might be cited in favour of this view, but they are better kept in reserve for the present. I am not yet convinced that the hypothesis is right. Failing that, the alternative would be that a MS. or MSS. strongly marked with Syrian peculiarities was conveyed to the West and there made use of as a basis for the Latin translation. If this were so, the coincidence between our list and Cureton's Syriac would be equally accounted for, and there would be the same reason for referring it to an early stage in the his-

tory of the Gospels. We are reminded of that other similar and not less striking coincidence in the order 'Numbers, Leviticus' between our list 'Leontius' and Nicephorus. Each strengthens the other and tends to diminish the presumption of accident.

As for the order of the different divisions of the New Testament—Evv., Epp. Paul., Act., Apoc., Cath. Epp.—the most important point is the juxtaposition of Apoc. and Epp. Joan., which has been already discussed. For the rest the nearest analogy is supplied by Cod. N, several cursives, Epiphanius, the Peshitto, Jerome, etc., which have Evv., Epp. Paul., Act., Cath. Epp., Apoc. But the principle of combining St. John's writings into an *Instrumentum Joanneum* has been abandoned. If any principle of grouping has been at work it might be supposed to be the historical principle of arranging the parts in the order of their admission into the Canon. The *corpus* of St. Paul's Epistles was very nearly complete—in some regions it was probably quite complete—in the time of Marcion: and it would be not until after that date that the books of the New Testament were brought together as a whole. In the East, where the mass of the Greek MSS. were written, the addition of Epp. Cath. and Apoc. was the last stage in the formation of the Canon.

III. THE STICHOMETRIES.

The subject of Stichometries, like that of the order of the Books, needs a few words of introduction, that the reader may be placed abreast with the present state of investigation on the subject. The last fifty years¹ have seen a marked advance which to the best of my belief has not yet been recorded in English manuals—at least not in those which deal with the

¹ It is necessary to go back thus far to Ritschl's *Alexandrinische Bibliotheken* (1838) and *Disp. de Stichometr. deque Heliod. Supplement.* (1840); both reprinted in *Opusc. Philol.*, Bd. 1. But a general understanding on the subject has only been recently arrived at.

side at which it touches Biblical criticism. The pioneers bear illustrious names, Friedrich Ritschl in Germany and Charles Graux in France¹, in whose steps have followed Diels, Christ, Schanz, Birt, and a number of others². And finally, the results obtained have been applied to the criticism of the New Testament in two elaborate articles in the *American Journal of Philology* for 1883 by the American and Cambridge scholar, Professor Rendel Harris.

The first thing to be done is to clear the mind of a widespread and deep-rooted confusion between stichometry and that method of writing which is properly described as *per cola et commata*, or as we might say, 'by clause and sub-clause,' according to which each new clause or division of a clause had a line to itself³. Examples of this latter method may be seen in the famous MSS. Codd. Bezae and Claromontanus (D Evv. and D Paul.), on a still more minute scale of subdivision in our own Cod. Laudianus (E Act.), or with a somewhat different arrangement of the text in Cod. Amiatinus and many other MSS. of the Vulgate. Indeed most of the early MSS. of the Vulgate are written in this way, with some variety in the method of arrangement. See Pal. Soc. i. 16 (Wordsworth's Z), 17 (S), 33 (X), 3 (Y), 236 (Benevento Gospels); Zang. and Watt. 34 (F), 35 (A), 36 (J), etc.; also the Psalters, Pal. Soc. ii. 8, i. 18. The divisions here adopted being sense-divisions, the lines naturally varied in length: the essence of stichometry is that the lines are assumed to be uniform or as near uniform as possible⁴. The object of stichometry was to

¹ *Revue de Philologie*, N. S., ii. 97-143 (1878).

² For references see the articles by Prof. Rendel Harris.

³ As the name *στίχος* was used for the sense-line as well as the space-line (for instance the poetical Books of the O. T. in which it was adopted were called, as we have seen, *βιβλοι στιχῆρεις*), there was much excuse for the confusion of the two methods: and the eminent scholar Fr. Blass for a long time contended that the Stichometries related to the sense-line. He has however, in view of the overwhelming evidence brought against him, greatly modified his views, and in Iwan Müller's *Handbuch*, i. 314 ff., he frankly accepts his opponents' explanation for the greater part of the phenomena.

⁴ The most thorough treatment with which I am acquainted of the history

find a standard of measurement for literary works. Thanks to the researches of the scholars named above that standard had been discovered. It was for Greek writings the Homeric hexameter, averaging roughly sixteen syllables or thirty-six letters in length. The starting-point was a passage of Galen¹, the conclusions drawn from which were verified by a large inductive examination of a number of the stichometrical data which have come down to us, e.g. for Herodotus, Thucydides, Demosthenes (very fully worked out by Christ), Eusebius (*Praep. Evang.*), Gregory Nazianzen, etc. The great mass of the data agree excellently together; but some anomalies remain which still need explanation, and perhaps may require the assumption of a different standard.

Such was the point which had been reached when the Cheltenham List was published. It was therefore a welcome surprise when the results, which had been hitherto to a large extent inferential, were on a sudden not only illustrated by their extension from Greek to Latin, but also confirmed by a statement than which nothing could be more explicit. The whole secret was out. Not only the method of stichometries but their purpose (which had been also guessed) was explained. Conclusions which had been reached by a purely scientific process received a superfluous but none the less satisfactory verification. 'Inasmuch as the index of verses (=stichometry) in the city of Rome is not clearly given, and elsewhere too through greed for gain they do not preserve it in full, I have gone through the books singly, counting sixteen syllables to the line, and have appended to every book the number of Virgilian hexameters².' The booksellers cheated their customers

of colometry as applied to the New Testament is by Dr. P. Corssen in an essay recently published on Codd. DFG (Paul.). Professor Rendel Harris also deals satisfactorily with the subject.

¹ *De Plac. Hippocr.*, viii. 1 (ed. Kühn, v. 155).

² The text as it stands (see p. 224 above) is evidently corrupt. Mommsen proposes to throw out both *poesi* and *numerus*: we might perhaps retain the latter and read *versuum Virgilianorum* (*versuū* [or perhaps rather *versum* as a vernacular form: see Neue, *Formenlehre d. lat. Sprache*, i. 360, and the

by suppressing the stichometries, by which at once the pay of the scribe and the price of the book was reckoned, and were asking more than the book was worth: for this reason the author of the note (which the tenth-century copyist had transcribed) had taken care to set down a full stichometry in his margin. We observe in passing that the author was not himself writing in Rome, though he knew too well the customs of the trade there.

We may leave further details, such as the rate of pay for copying¹, and the possible existence of other standards besides the hexameter, for which reference may be made to Professor Rendel Harris's articles mentioned above, and go on at once to a comparison of the Cheltenham stichometry with others of the same kind.

Stichometries of the Vulgate do not appear to be found in the oldest MSS. But they become fairly plentiful in MSS. of the ninth century and later. Professor S. Berger, whom I consulted, has been so good as to send me his notes of the readings of the following MSS. on doubtful points:—

Par. Lat. 1 : a Bible presented to Charles the Bald by Count Vivianus and eleven monks of the abbey of St. Martin at Tours in the year 850.

Par. Lat. 6 : a Bible probably of the tenth century.

Par. Lat. 11504 : a Bible of the ninth century.

Par. Lat. 11532 : another of the same date.

Par. Lat. 11514 : an Old Testament also of the ninth century.

These three MSS. all came from St. Germain-des-Prés.

Brit. Mus. Add. 10546 : 'Charlemagne's Bible;' early ninth century (Bp. Wordsworth's K).

other authorities and instances quoted by Miodoński, *Anon. adv. Aleatores*, p. 73, n.] *Virgilianor*): if it were clear that *versum Virgilianum* alone could = *numerus versuum Virgilianorum*, Mommsen's reading would be preferable.

¹ This is given in Diocletian's Edict *De pretiis rerum venalium* (C. I. L., iii. 831).

Cod. Paulinus: the famous MS. from the Church of S. Paolo fuori le Mura, another Caroline MS.

Cod. Vallicellianus: a MS. also of the ninth century, and like the two last presenting Alcuin's recension of the Vulgate (Bp. Wordsworth's V).

I have further made use of—

Cod. Bodl. Auct. E. inf. 1, 2 (Hody's N. E. F. 6), which appears to be of the twelfth century.

Brit. Mus. Add. 10546 (see above), from the *Catalogue of Ancient MSS.*

Harley MS. 2805: of the ninth century; from the same source.

And the list given by the Benedictine editors of St. Jerome (ed. Migne, vol. ix. p. 150 f.). What are given as the Vulgate readings thus rest upon a strong *consensus*.

It will be seen at a glance that the stichometry in the Cheltenham List is really that of the Vulgate.

The Cheltenham stichometry is evidently in the main very correct. When the missing numbers are supplied from the best Vulgate MSS. for the Books of the Heptateuch the result agrees exactly with that in the List. When the Book of Ruth is taken with the Books of Kings, as we have seen that it ought to be taken, and when the one small and obvious correction of CCL for CCI has been made, the result again tallies with the items. For the succeeding Books down to the Book of Psalms (inclusive) the only item which does not correspond with the reading of the best MSS. is that for the Book of Job. Here, however, Par. Lat. 6 presents the same figures as the Cheltenham List. It is not until we get to the *libb. Salomonis* and the Major Prophets that any real difficulty arises. We may accept the figures given for Isaiah and Jeremiah; but there is clearly some mistake in those for Ezekiel and Daniel, and the summaries both for the Solomonic Books and for the Major Prophets must be wrong. I have suggested corrections for these last which are as near as it

III. Comparative Table of Stichometries—(A) of the Old Testament, (B) of the New Testament.
(A) STICHOMETRIES OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

	Greek MSS.	Nicophorus ² .	Codex Claromontanus.	Index Cheltonianus.	The same corrected.	Vulgate.	Some MSS. of Vulgate.
Genesis	4300	4500	...	[11000]	3700	4900
Exodus	2800	3700	...	[11]	3000	...
Leviticus	2700	2800	...	[1000]	2300	...
Numbers	3530	3650	...	[11]	3000	...
Deuteronomy	3100	3300	...	[1100]	2600	...
Joshua	2100	2000	...	[1000]	1750	...
Judges	2050	2000	...	[1000]	1750	...
Total	18100	...	...	1850
Ruth
1 Kings	250	201	col. (for cor)	250	...
2 Kings	2500	2300	...	2300	...
3 Kings	2000	2200	...	2200	...
4 Kings	2600	2500	...	2500	...
Total	2400	2250	...	2250	...
1 Chronicles	9500	...	...	...
2 Chronicles	2040	...	2040	...
Ezra	2100	...	2100	...
1 Maccabees	1500	...	...	...	...
2 Maccabees	2300	2300	...	2300	...
Job	7300	2300	1800	...	1800	...
Tobit	(4 Macc. 1000)	...	...	...	...
	1600	1800	...	1700	1800
	1000	900	...	900	...

	[100]	700	...
Ether
Judith
Psalms
Solomon
Proverbs
Ecclesiastes
Canticles
Wisdom...
Ecclesiasticus
Total
Major Prophets—			
Isaiah
Jeremiah
Ezekiel
Daniel
Total
xii Minor Prophets
Total

¹ 257 cols (N).

²⁵/ *cora* (N/).
² These figures are taken from Nestlé's collation of codd. N B: they appear however to be obtained by counting the actual sense-lines in the MSS., and not from numerical summaries in the subscription to the books, of which I find no trace.

³ Dr. Westcott's text has been followed (*Can.* p. 560 f.), which differs considerably from Hody's (*Text. Orig.* p. 648).

Comparative Table of

(B) STICHOMETRIES OF

Greek Stichometries.

	Modern verses.	Measured lines of 16 syllables (W. and H.)	The same abbreviated.	Codex Amiatinus in lines of 16 syllables.	Some MSS.	Main body of MSS.
St. Matthew	1071	2433	2397	2359	{ 2514 } (5 MSS.) 2554 H. B. corr.) 2560 (9 MSS.)	2600 (37 MSS.)
St. Mark ...	678	1511 [-xvi. 9- 20.]	1494	1549 [+ xvi. 9- 20.]	{ 1506 (4 MSS.) 1550 (3 MSS.) 1590 (2 MSS.) }	1600 (32 MSS.)
St. Luke ...	1151	2591	2551	2559	{ 2676 (5 MSS.) 2740 (6 MSS.) 2750 (3 MSS.) }	2800 (44 MSS.)
St. John ...	880	1948	1903	1924	{ 2024 (9 MSS.) 2210 (5 MSS.) }	2300 (38 MSS.)
Acts	1007	2559	2527	2479	... ..	...
Apocalypse...	405	1224	1213	1156	... ..	...
1 St. John ...	105	268	262	247	... ..	274
2 St. John ...	13	31	30	30	... ..	30
3 St. John ...	15	31	31	31	... ..	32
Total ...	133	330	323	308		336
1 St. Peter ...	105	245	240	265	... ..	236
2 St. Peter ...	61	162	158	159	... ..	[154]
Total ...	166	407	398	424		

Stichometries (continued).

THE NEW TESTAMENT.

Greek Stichometries.

Latin Stichometries.

Some MSS.	Euthalius.	Nicephorus (Greek.)	Nicephorus (Latin; Anastas. Biblioth. c. 870 A.D.).	Codex Claromontanus.	Index Cheltonianus.	Most MSS. of Vulgate.	Some MSS.
$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 2700 \text{ (4 MSS.)} \\ 3397 \text{ (2 MSS.)} \end{array} \right\}$	...	2500	2500	2600	2700	2700	...
$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 1616 \text{ (10 MSS.)} \\ 1700 \text{ (6 MSS.)} \\ 1829 \text{ (2 MSS.)} \end{array} \right\}$	...	2000	2000	1600	1700	1700	...
3827 (2 MSS.)	...	2600	2600	2900	3300 [read 3800]	3800	2900 (1 MS.)
... ..	...	2300	2700	2000	1800	1800	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 1700 \text{ (1 MS.)} \\ 2300 \text{ (1 MS.)} \end{array} \right\}$
... ..	2556	3000 [reading ν for ρ]	?	2600	3600	3600	9400 (1 MS.)
... ..	...	1400	1500	1200	1800	1800	...
... ..	273	...	...	220	...	...	...
31	37	...	...	20	...	...	274 (Cod. Frising. Vet. Lat.)
... ..	32	...	...	20	...	...	...
...	342	...	...	260	450	...	...
237	236	...	...	200	...	...	...
... ..	154	...	...	140	...	...	...
...	390	...	...	340	300	...	...

seems possible to come to the MS., and which give a right result for the general total. Beyond this I have not thought that I could go profitably. The five missing and the two erroneous items might be manipulated in a variety of ways ; none of which would admit of verification. I am conscious of having only proposed a makeshift solution for this part of the problem. Before touching on the further questions raised I proceed to give a similar, but as the materials allow somewhat more elaborate table for the stichometry of the New Testament. For this I have made use of the calculations of Professor Rendel Harris as to the actual number of measured lines in the text of Westcott and Hort, adding to these a rather rough calculation for Cod. Amiatinus. I have also incorporated the data from Professor Rendel Harris's tables of stichometries from Greek MSS., with some enlargement from the third edition of Scrivener's *Introduction* and the American corrections of Scrivener. The variants to the Vulgate readings are contributed by M. Berger. For the New Testament we have to add to the authorities the Book of Armagh (early ninth century).

There is nothing here that needs setting right in the Cheltenham List except the obvious correction for St. Luke. The figures for the Epistles of St. John and St. Peter are open to suspicion ; but the Vulgate parallels fail us, and there is no general total by which to check them. The numeration in the Freising MS. looks very much as if it were taken over from the Greek.

I do not propose to attempt a justification of the different stichometries. It is enough for our purpose to have the identity of those in the Cheltenham List and the Vulgate MSS. brought out so clearly. An interesting problem is suggested by these taken together. What was the origin of the Vulgate stichometry ? Was it originally made for the Vulgate ? and if so, where and when ? It strikes us at once that the MSS. of the Vulgate in which stichometries are found are none of them earlier than the Caroline period. Three

of the most conspicuous (Brit. Mus. Add. 10546 and Codd. Paulinus and Vallicellianus) show traces of the influence of Alcuin. I do not know that there is anything that need be inconsistent with the supposition that Alcuin had brought the stichometries with him from England. He would then perhaps have obtained them ultimately from an Irish source—the same from which they found their way into the Book of Armagh. It is noticeable, however, that they do not appear to be found in the earlier Books of Kells, Durrow, and the Codd. Usseriani, or in the Rushworth, Lindisfarne, Durham, or Lichfield (St. Chad's) Gospels, or in those which come from St. Augustine's, Canterbury, or in the Stonyhurst St. John, or to the best of my knowledge in any other of the English or Irish MSS. of a date not later than the ninth century. They must thus have had a very limited circulation. The oldest authority in which they are found is the archetype of the Cheltenham MS. For although we have no proof that the stichometries are as old as the year 359, it is not probable that they are more than seventy years later. The circumstances under which the stichometries were added are indicated in the note at the end of the New Testament list. That note implies the existence of free inter-communication between the city of Rome and the place where it was written. Now we have so far had many reasons for connecting the list with Africa. But if the line-measurements were added in Africa and if the note in regard to them was drawn up in that country, it must have been either before the Vandal invasion (428–430 A.D.), or in the interval between the reconquest of Africa by Belisarius in 533–4 and the final destruction of Carthage by the Arabs in 698. And the first of these periods is decidedly more probable than the second, because the note implies a flourishing book-trade and settled and peaceful relations between the province and the capital such as can hardly be said to have existed either during the Gothic war or the Lombard troubles which followed. If the second period were to be chosen the best part of it would be

about the time of Primasius, or 560 A.D. Failing this, we are carried back very nearly if not quite to the age of Jerome. Still it would not be necessary that the stichometry should have Jerome for its author, any more than he can have been the author of the various capitulations which are found in Vulgate MSS. The majority of these must have been either composed at a later date, or (what is very possible) transferred from MSS. of the Old Latin. The same may well be the case with the stichometry. And here the Cheltenham List comes in with an important coincidence. None of the Vulgate MSS., as M. Berger assures me, have any line-measurement for Ezra-Nehemiah. It is probable therefore that the stichometry was made from a *codex* in which that book was wanting. But it is also wanting in the Cheltenham List. That, and its date combined, bring the List very near the point at which the stichometry originated. We may go back a step further. Apart from the Cheltenham List the earliest trace of the existence of Latin Biblical stichometries is in the so-called *Speculum* of St. Augustine¹. Though the classified extracts from the Bible of which this work is composed present a Vulgate text, there is satisfactory proof that this is the work of which Possidius speaks as begun but left unfinished by St. Augustine at the time of his death. Either we must suppose that a Vulgate text was substituted for the Old Latin which St. Augustine certainly used; or St. Augustine himself only gave rough indications (the beginning and end) of the passages which he wished to extract, and the text was filled in later from a copy of the Vulgate². In any case the change must have been made before the work got into general circulation, as the extant MSS. (of which one is of the ninth and one of the tenth century) are all based on Jerome's version. But the adaptation of the text of the extracts does not

¹ The first of the two similar works recently published by Wehrich (*Corp. Script. Eccles. Lat.*, vol. xii; Vienna, 1887).

² Compare the method pursued in the two Theodulfian MSS., Aniciensis and Mesmianus, of the second or spurious *Speculum*.

affect the framework in which they are set. This framework, which consists of a preface and very brief connecting links between the extracts, is, we have every reason to think, original. It is clear from this that the Biblical *codex* from which the extracts were made was stichometrically written. Many of the links of transition are vague (*post aliquantum, paulo post, etc.*), but many also are definite (*post i. verum, post iii. versus, etc.*): and that not in a book here and there, but all through the Bible¹. It is probable then that St. Augustine himself had access to a stichometry. Can it have had anything to do with Tichonius the Donatist, who stood in such near literary relation to him? Tichonius was a person interested in the study of the Scriptures; and the making of stichometries was one of the employments of Biblical scholars in those days. We have an example of this in the East a little later in Euthalius: and the Greek MSS. show that there must have been many both before and after Euthalius who busied themselves in the same kind of work.

However it may be about Tichonius, whose name I only mention to show the kind of circle in which the stichometries seem to have arisen, the one conclusion for which we have the clearest warrant is that the author must have had relations to St. Augustine. This is, it is true, more clearly visible in the Old Testament than in the New. In the Old Testament we had both a general resemblance in order and also two marked coincidences—the grouping of Ruth with Kings and the placing of Ezekiel before Daniel. The most striking difference was the omission of 1, 2 Esdras in the List and its retention by Augustine. In the New Testament the divergence is greater. Here the more archaic hand at work in the List is decidedly at an earlier stage than St. Augustine. It adopts indeed elements that go back as far as Tertullian. Since Tertullian there is no such clear trace as here of the *Instrumentum Joanneum*. The omission of Hebrews, St. James, and St. Jude is also thoroughly primitive; and the protest

¹ Corssen has made good use of these data in the essay above referred to.

against the admission of 2, 3 St. John and 2 St. Peter belongs to a stage which is not likely to have extended much beyond the year 400. Other primitive traits of a different kind are the peculiar order of the books Numbers and Leviticus and the peculiar order of the Gospels, both presenting coincidences with far-removed Greek authorities, and so pointing backwards to a time before the Latin and Greek traditions had separated.

All these data are of course entirely independent of any conclusions that might be drawn from the chronological notes. Their presence in a tenth-century MS. shows that they might be perpetuated in a late document; but simple transmission is one thing and actual composition is another; and it does not seem to me probable that the compiler of the List as we have it would deliberately reject so many Epistles after the Third Council of Carthage and the times of St. Jerome and St. Augustine.

There remain the '24 elders of the Apocalypse' and the stichometries. These no doubt may be subsequent insertions; but on the whole I am inclined to believe that they are not derived directly from Jerome. In the one case I suspect that Jerome (though he does not say so) is drawing from an older authority, of which our Lists Victorinus and Pseudo-Tertullian represent a divergent branch; and in the other case I think it very possible that the stichometries either were not originally composed for the Vulgate at all or were composed for it in Africa and not in Palestine.

IV. THE LIST OF THE WRITINGS OF CYPRIAN.

The third subject on which the document before us has an important bearing is the criticism of Cyprian. It is satisfactory to find that all the treatises usually regarded as genuine are included in the Cyprianic List with the single exception of *Quod idola dñi non sint* (*De Idolorum Vanitate*). The absence of this treatise need not excite misgivings as to its genuineness. Its attestation goes back to St. Jerome and

St. Augustine¹, if not to the biographer of Cyprian²: it is found in most of the better MSS. (though not as it happens in the two oldest, *S* and *F*, which are both fragmentary): and the style and character of the treatise are thoroughly Cyprianic. Its omission would seem to be connected with the fact that, as we shall see presently, its usual place in the MSS. was among the Epistles and towards the end even of these.

On the questions which have been raised as to the *Testimonia* the Cheltenham List has weighty evidence to render. Before touching upon these it may be right to say a word about the reading of the MS. This is given by Mommsen thus:

ad Quirinum libri III: I DL
II DCCCL
III DCCLXX.

Mommsen notes that instead of *I* the MS. has *L*; and the doubt had occurred to me, observing the suspicious repetition of *L* at the end of the figures for Books I and II, that the archetype may have read:

ad Quirinum libri III: L(ib) I D
L(ib) II DCCC
L(ib) III DCCLXX.

The exact form in which the entry stands in the MS. is as follows—most of the punctuation appears to be added by a second hand:

manus prima L ɔlii ɔcccl | iii, ɔcolxx.
manus secunda L ɔ.l.ii; ɔccc.l | iii; ɔcc. lxx.

I think however on the whole that Mommsen is probably right. It is true that there is a tendency in this part of the List to greater brevity than in the earlier part: for instance, *versus* is only inserted in the last line, whereas it occurs

¹ Aug., *De unio. Bapt.*, iv. § 6; Hieron., *Ep.* 83 *ad Magnum*.

² The words of Pontius are rather ambiguous, and may possibly refer to *Ad Demetrianum: per quem gentiles blasphemii repercussis in se quae nobis ingerunt vincerentur?* (*Vit.* c. 7; ed. Hartel, p. xcvi. l. 16).

frequently in the Biblical lists. This might prevent us from arguing from *Paralipomeni lib. I*, etc., as above. But I do not think that *L* alone for *liber* is a common abbreviation. This supposition then may probably be dismissed, and the number of *versus* may be taken as Mommsen has it.

The recent history of the criticism of the *Testimonia* is this. In *Texte und Untersuchungen*, Bd. 1, Heft 1, p. 251 (published in 1882), Harnack (after Erasmus) labelled the *Testimonia* as the work of (Pseudo-)Cyprian. In Heft 2 of the same volume (published in 1883) he withdrew this doubt and pronounced them genuine. This may have been partly due to the accumulation of evidence for the early use of the *Testimonia* in Commodian, Firmicus Maternus, and Lactantius (*ibid.*, Heft 2, p. 97). An article by Dombart¹ there referred to is specially important as showing that while Commodian's *Apology* only bears trace of the use of the two first Books of the *Testimonia*, the *Instructions* give equally clear proof of the use of the third Book. In *Old-Latin Texts, Part ii*, p. 131 the writer of this essay argued for the genuineness of the work, but at the same time threw out the surmise, based upon the discrepancy between the number of *στίχοι* assigned to the three Books in the List and their actual length in the printed editions, that Book III at least might perhaps be largely interpolated. Mommsen had already compared the stichometry of the List with the number of lines in Hartel's edition with this result:

Book I: *στίχοι* 550, lines 560.

II: „ 850 „ 886.

III: „ 770 „ 1876.

I was inclined however to reject the hypothesis of interpolation, and preferred to suppose that *I* or *∞* had dropped out of the text², partly because of the general identity of the Biblical text throughout the whole of the Third Book,

¹ *Zeitschrift f. wiss. Theol.*, 1879, esp. pp. 384-389.

² It would be almost as easy to suppose that in the uncial hand of the fourth century *beclxx* was written for *ceclxx*.

and partly because the quotation in Jerome's *Dial. c. Pelag.*, i. 32¹, seemed to show that the fifty-fourth *titulus* at least (which is two-thirds of the way through the book) stood in Jerome's day where it does now. Dombart also, it should be said, points out several marked coincidences between the *tituli* of Book III and Commodian². More recently Dr. P. Corssen in his very careful and suggestive review of *Old-Latin Biblical texts*³ has urged in favour of the theory of interpolation that there is no other instance of a treatise of Cyprian exceeding in length 1000 σελίδες. The fact is important when we consider the tendency which Birt has proved for authors to observe certain laws as to the length of their compositions. Nor would I lay stress in opposition to it upon the division of the *Testimonia* into two books, instead of three, in the twelfth-century MS. which we have called O₄. This would more nearly equalize the two books, but it does not rest upon sufficient authority. Even the allied MS. O₅ has the usual division into three Books. We note however that the number of *capitula* in Book III shows the same or even greater excess over those of the other two (Book I, 24; Book II, 30; Book III, 120): and we have just seen that these *capitula* were apparently the same—half of them at least certainly the same—in Jerome's time as they are in our own. It would be strange too if with so many distinct families of MSS. there should be no trace of the original smaller work. The common archetype of these different families must go back to a date not far from that of Cyprian himself; and though the enlarged edition would naturally tend to supersede the smaller edition, the works of Cyprian were so rapidly diffused and so widely that it would be difficult for it to suppress the smaller edition altogether. This difficulty is increased when we observe how much the Cheltenham List has in common with the MSS., and in

¹ Noticed by Harnack, *T. u. U.*, ii. 2. p. 81.

² *Ibid.*, p. 387 f.

³ *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* for April 1, 1889.

particular how nearly it agrees with them in the position of the *Testimonia*. If the Cheltenham List were the one surviving member of a divergent tradition we should expect it to present greater differences. It would seem therefore that allowing the fullest weight to the Cheltenham stichometry, there are still formidable obstacles in the way of the interpolation-hypothesis. The question loses much of its importance if the *prima facie* impression is found to hold good that the Biblical text throughout the Book is consistent with itself and consistent also with that of Cyprian. In that case, though the whole of the collection may not have been made by Cyprian himself, it would be made at least from Cyprian's Bible. If it should prove that there has been a deliberate enlargement of Book III, the same thing on a smaller scale will probably have taken place in Book II, because whereas in all the other treatises the number of lines in the Cheltenham List is more or less considerably in excess of those in Hartel's edition, here the relation is inverted.

Two spurious pieces are included in the Cheltenham List, *De Laude Martyrii* and *Adversus Judaeos*. The first of these very early found its way into the Cyprianic collections. It not only appears in the Cheltenham List, but is repeatedly quoted by Lucifer Calaritanus¹. It is also partially extant in the oldest Cyprian MS. (S), and has a place in the great majority of the other MSS. There seems to be no good authority for the inscription 'To Moyses and Maximus' which is found in the older editions. The treatise is much rather, as Fell has pointed out, a sort of rhetorical exercise which implies the attention and even the applause of an interested audience. It does not look as if it had been written in the heat of persecution: it bears much more the impress of a time of peace: and if it were ever delivered at all, we should say that it was as an oration commemorating those who had suffered, like the *λόγοι ἐπιτάφιοι* of the Greeks. It

¹ See Hartel's Index to Lucifer, and Harnack in *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1886, col. 174.

resembles these in the generality of its language, and in the absence of names and particular allusions. Though not Cyprianic, and probably later than Cyprian, it appears to be African in its origin.

The treatise *Against the Jews* is of the same rhetorical and artificial character. It has not grown out of real controversy¹. It is not even an argument, but rather a declamation. It consists in a magnifying of Christian privileges by contrasting Israel's loss with the Christian's gain. This treatise does not rest on such good MS. authority as *De Laude Martyrii*. Its Biblical text and linguistic features seem peculiar and interesting.

The process by which spurious works came to be included among the genuine is well illustrated by a statement which has a further significance for our present purpose. In his tract *De Adulteratione Librorum Origenis*, Rufinus of Aquileia, writing in the last years of the fourth century, complains that whereas the whole *corpus* of Cyprian's Epistles was collected into a single volume, certain heretics who were in the habit of blaspheming against the Holy Spirit, had culpably inserted among them the treatise of Tertullian [he should have said 'Novatian'] on the Trinity, and then had the interpolated volumes hawked about the streets of a large city like Constantinople at a cheap rate so as to induce people to buy them². We may accept the fact while reserving our

¹ On this characteristic of much of the Anti-Jewish literature, see Harnack, *T. u. U.*, i. 2. 63 ff.

² The passage is so interesting from a variety of reasons that it may be well to give it in the original: *Sancti Cypriani martyris solet omne epistolarum corpus in uno codice scribi. Hinc corpori hæretici quidam, qui in Spiritum Sanctum blasphemant, Tertulliani libellum de Trinitate reprehensibiliter (quantum ad veritatem fidei nostrae pertinet) scriptum inserentes, et quamplurimos codices de talibus exemplariis conscribentes per totam Constantinopolin urbem maximam distrahi pretio viliori fecerunt ut exiguitate pretii homines illecti ignotos et latentes dolos facilius compararent, quo per hoc invenirent hæretici perfidias suas fidem tanti viri auctoritate conquirere (Orig. Opp., ed. Lommatsch, xxv. 395). Jerome replies to this that the work in question was not really Tertullian's, but Novatian's: see Delarue's note.*

own judgment as to the imputation of motive. Such imputations are continually being thrown out, and in nine cases out of ten where we can test them turn out to be groundless. It is however clear that other works were included in the same volume with those of Cyprian; and if they were anonymous in the first instance they would soon come to pass by his name¹.

Rufinus speaks of 'Epistles,' but he probably means by this the whole of Cyprian's works. The subscriptions in the MSS. frequently speak of the treatises as *Epistolae*. So Hartel's Corbie MS. (C), of the ninth century, at the end of *Quod idola dii non sint*. So the St. Gall MS. (G), also of the ninth century, at the end of *De Eccl. Un.* and *De Mortalitate*; and so too the tenth-century MS. which we have called *O*₁ and the two twelfth-century MSS. which we have called *O*₄ and *O*₆. We may suspect that this use of *epistola* led to the substitution of *Ad Virgines* for *De Habitu Virginum* in the Cheltenham List: a point in which it agrees with *O*₁.

For the rest, the Cheltenham List contains 28 out of 81 letters which Mommsen has succeeded in identifying, and there are five others, according to his reckoning, which he has not identified. We will try what can be done with these presently. It may be asked, however, how it is that only one of the treatises should be missing (No. II, *Quod idola*, etc.) and so large a number of Epistles? The genuineness of the missing letters (which do not all profess to be written by Cyprian) is really well assured: but it must be remembered that it is a much easier thing to collect long compositions like the treatises than short and fugitive compositions like the letters. The MS. of the treatises Cyprian would keep at home and leave behind him²; the letters would be dis-

¹ We may also note in passing (1) the great popularity of Cyprian's writings, (2) the ready sale which Latin books find in Constantinople. Some of Cyprian's works were translated into Greek (see Pitra's *Analecta*, tom. iv), but we can hardly suppose that this was the case with the whole *corpus* or with the work of Novatian. The language of Jerome implies that the volumes were in Latin.

² There is plenty of evidence to show that Cyprian, with the business-like

persed abroad, not only over the province of Africa, but some to Rome and even to Spain. No doubt Cyprian won a great reputation even in his lifetime; and this reputation was greatly enhanced by his glorious death; so that his letters would soon come to be enquired after and collected. Still the process would take time: it would proceed unequally in different regions: and partial collections would be put in circulation long before the whole body of Epistles was brought together in a single volume. The MSS. still bear many traces of this process. It will be instructive to interrogate them upon the subject, as we may do by tabulating the contents of the different MSS. side by side with the Cheltenham List. The reader who wishes to know more about the different authorities enumerated may be referred to Hartel's Preface, and to the Appendix to *Old-Latin Texts*, Part II. It will be enough for the present purpose if he will take the letters used to designate the MSS. as so many symbols, to which however, as a *prima facie* indication of value, the century to which they belong has been appended. For convenience of use the numbering of the Epistles by Rigault and

habits which were characteristic of him, had copies made of his own letters, which he must have kept by him at least for a time. Thus in *Ep.* 20 we find him in self-defence sending to Rome copies of the letters (13 in number) which he had written to the clergy and confessors at Carthage: in like manner in *Ep.* 25 he speaks of a transcript of five letters which he had sent to Caldonius: and besides this, he frequently refers to copies of his letters which he begs his correspondents either to disseminate themselves or give others the opportunity of disseminating. But there is good reason to think that the letters were not first collected from the archives of the Church at Carthage. The great diversities of order and the varying length of the collections are against this; and it is noticeable that the letters which relate to the domestic affairs of the Church of Carthage are just those which found their way into the collections most sparingly. The letters to Cornelius, for instance, are found in all the great collections, and nearly the same is true of the letters to the Spanish Churches, but the controversy about the lapsed is very poorly represented. We should like much to know what became of the thirteen letters of which copies were sent to Rome. Are they the original source of any of our extant texts? The archetype of *TMQ* is, I think, the only collection which contains as many as thirteen letters written before *Ep.* 20 to which the description would apply: next to it comes the *V* group, which was certainly not written in Africa, and probably in Italy.

Baluze is given, as well as that of Fell and Hartel. And to facilitate the enquiry how far the chronology of the letters may have influenced their order in the collections, a chronological list is also given based upon the careful researches of Otto Ritschl¹ which supplement Pearson's *Annales Cyprianici*. I anticipate a little by supplying conjecturally the letters not yet identified in the Cheltenham List.

The suggestiveness of these lists is evident enough; but at the same time they are of course only suggestive: the hints which they supply will need to be worked out before they can lead to any assured conclusions. My hope is that they may serve as finger-posts to future critics of Cyprian—and in particular to one of my fellow contributors to these volumes—and point out directions in which enquiry is likely to be fruitful. To a certain extent the indications which they give have already received a certain amount of rough verification. We may see, for instance, at once that the order in the MS. O₂ is in the Epistles identical with, and in the Treatises not far removed from, that of *T*: in other words, a MS. here in the heart of Oxford corresponds almost exactly to one that has lain for some two centuries on the shelves of the Vatican². The presumption thus raised is borne out: the texts of the two MSS. certainly resemble each other, though precisely to what extent they do so has still to be determined. In like manner the list of contents alone shows that the Lincoln MS. (*L*), written in Florence for the famous bookseller Vespasian, corresponds within one or two points with the Bamberg MS. (*B*). The texts here again are found to be closely related. And this is the more interesting because the Bamberg MS. stands rather by itself, and is, at least in parts, of considerable importance. Then, further, we may see

¹ *Cyprian von Karthago*, Göttingen, 1885; comp. *De Epistulis Cyprianicis Dissertatio Theologica*, Halis Saxonum, 1885.

² The MS. in question belonged to the library of Christina Queen of Sweden, and appears to have been previously in the possession of Peter Daniel of Orleans († 1603): see Reifferscheid, *Biblioth. Ital.*, i. 337 compared with 349.

IV. Comparative Table showing the Order in the MSS. of the Writings of Cyprian.

(A) the Treatises, (B) the Epistles.

(A) THE TREATISES.

	W (a. viii.-ix.)	Q ₂ (a. x. ex.)	S (a. vi.)	Q ₁ (a. xi.)	H (a. xi-xiii.)	Bb. (a. xv.)	T (a. x.)	Archetype of M ⁹ , etc.	Index Cheltenham.	C ¹ (a. vii.)	P (a. ix.)	Q ₁ (a. x.)	n.
i. Ad Donatum.	iii	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	iv
ii. Quod idola dñi non sunt.	carin. spur.	iv	iv	iv	iv	iv	iv	iv	iv	iv	x	x	vi
iii. Ad Quirinum (Testimonia).	i	vi	vi	vi	vi	vi	vi	vi	vi	xiii	ix	ix	v
iv. De habitu virginum.	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	x	vi	app.	vi	vii
v. De ecclesiae unitate.	vii	viii	viii	xi	xi	viii	xi	x	v	ep.	v	xi	viii
vi. De lapsis.	viii	xi	xi	viii	viii	x	xi	viii	v	ep.	vii	viii	xi
vii. De dominica oratione.	x	xii	ix	x	x	xi	x	xi	viii	v	viii	xii	xii
viii. De mortalitate.	x	xiii	app.	x	x	xii	x	xii	viii	viii	xi	vii	xiii
ix. Ad Fortunatum.	xii	ix	app.	xii	xii	xii	xii	xii	xii	viii	xii	ep.	x
x. Ad Demetrianum.	xiii	x	xiv	xiii	xiii	vii	xiii	xiii	ix	x	xiii	iv	ii
xi. De opere et elemosynis.	ix	libb.	lib.	iii	iii	iii	iii	iii	iii	ix	ix	v	iii
xii. De bono patientis.													
xiii. De zelo et livore.		spur.	sp.	app.	app.	app.	app.	app.	app.	ii	l	ii	ix
xiv. Sententie episcoporum.		iii	iii	libb.	libb.	xiv	xiv	libb.	lib.	iii	iii	app.	ix
		app.	app.	sp.	sp.	ii	sp.	sp.	sp.	ep.	xiv	app.	
		libb.	lib.	lib.	lib.	ii	sp.	app.	app.	libb.	app.	app.	
		spur.	sp.	sp.	sp.	libb.	ii	xiv	xiv	spur.	lib.	lib.	
		app.	app.	app.	app.	spur.	spur.	libb.	lib.	sp.	sp.	sp.	
											ii	ii	
											app.	app.	

Table IV (continued).

(B) THE EPISTLES.

Result and Re-use.	Reil and Harrel.	Chronological Order (O. Ritschl).	Revised Order (O. Ritschl).	Index Cheltonianus.	Archetype of L (a. ix).	O ₁ (a. x).	V (a. vii) lost original of C (a. ix), R (a. ix).	T (a. x).	Archetype (a. viii) of M (a. ix), Q (a. viii-ix), T (a. x), &c.	O ₂ (a. xii).	B (a. xi), I (a. xv).	H (a. xi-xii).	R (a. vi).
66 =	1 =	2	63	55	63	libb.	libb. (R)	63	55	55	63	55	57
61 =	2 =	64	6	63	6	63	58 (R)	6	63	74 (O ₁)	30	6	52
65 =	3 =	66	55	libb.	55	libb. (R)	libb. (R)	55	6	69 (½ O ₁)	6	28	47 = xxxvii
62 =	4 =	65	10 (L)	58	10	libb.	libb.	10	58	69 (½ O ₁)	13 (?)	37	45 = xxxviii
4 =	5 =	5	28	28	28	76	63	28	10	40	28	11	41 = xxxviii
81 =	6 =	4	37	37	37	58 (bis)	6	37	28	67	37	38	44
96 =	7 =	3	11	11	11	55	10	11	37	64	lib.	39	4
2 =	8 =	6	13	38	38 (LN)	11	28	38	11	2	sp.	58	61
3 =	9 =	7	14	1 = 38	39	66	37	39	38	60	11	73	1 = xlv
8 =	10 =	12	12	39	58 (P)	30	11	58	39	57	58	71	46 = xlv
7 =	11 =	11	11	73	60	2	38	60	lib.	59	46	70	56 = xlviii
37 =	12 =	10	10	71	76	64	39	57	60	52	12	63	54
6 =	13 =	8	21	1 = 70	73	xiv	14	59	57	47	76	76	20 = xlviii
5 =	14 =	9	22	1	71	76	76	52	59	45	78	74	30 = xlviii
10 =	15 =	15	15	xiv	70	70	70	47	52	44	77	69	31
9 =	16 =	16	16	74	xiv	16	16	45	47	51	32	40	
11 =	17 =	17	17	1 = 72	74	15	15	44	45	13	20	67	

12 = 18 = 18	18	64	69	($\frac{1}{2}$)	40	51	44	43	59	64
13 = 19 = 19	19	69	67	($\frac{1}{2}$)	64	13	51	65	52	2
14 = 20 = 20	20	67	64	O	2	43	13	1	47	60
20 = 21 = 13	24	2	2	libb.	57	65	43	61	45	57
21 = 22 = 14	25	13	13	63	59	1	65	46	44	59
16 = 23 = 23	23	lib. sp.	lib. sp.	6	60	61	1	66	51	52
18 = 24 = 21	26	(LN)	(LN)	58	52 (R)	46	61	4	60	47
19 = 25 = 22	27	43	43	libb.	47	66	46	11	57	45
17 = 26 = 24	28	32	65		45	54	54	56	55	44
22 = 27 = 25	29	20	52		44	76	32	3	38	13
25 = 28 = 26	30	30	1	($\frac{1}{2}$)	49	73	20	72	39	43
24 = 29 = 27	31	lib.	56	($\frac{1}{2}$)	50	71	12	58	40	65
31 = 30 = 28	32	sp.	3	α	13	70	78	63	67	66
26 = 31 = 29	33	44	47	63	55	xiv	xiv	6	43	4
32 = 32 = 30	34	45	45	69 ($\frac{1}{2}$)	69	74	69 ($\frac{1}{2}$)	76	65	3
27 = 33 = 31	35	47	48	xiv	65	69	69 ($\frac{1}{2}$)	73	73	72
28 = 34 = 32	36	48	44	13	67	67	67	71 (O ₂)	71	61
29 = 35 = 33	37	51	61	lib.	64	64	64	xiv	70	1
30 = 36 = 34	38	52	46	sp.	lib. sp.	2	2	28	xiv	46
15 = 37 = 35	39	57	57		lib. sp.	32	3	37	72	56
33 = 38 = 36	40	59	59		lib. sp.	20	72	38	74	54
34 = 39 = 37	41	60	60	II (L) 66 (P)	libb.	12	12	39	69 ($\frac{1}{2}$)	20
35 = 40 = 38	42	Vit.	40	66 (L) II (P)	58	libb.	71	70	69 ($\frac{1}{2}$)	30
38 = 41 = 39	43				libb.	sp.	73	libb.	64	31
39 = 42 = 40	45				libb.	40	74	79	2	12

Table IV—(continued).

(B) THE EPISTLES.

Rigault and Hailst.	Chronological Order (O. Biscotti).	Revised Order (O. Biscotti).	Index Cheltenham.	Arotype of L (a. ix), N (a. x) P (a. ix).	O ₁ (a. x).	V (a. vii) lost original of C (a. ix), R (a. ix).	T (a. x).	Arotype (a. viii) of M (a. ix), Q (a. viii-ix), T (a. x), &c.	O ₂ (a. xii).	B (a. xi), I (a. xv).	H (a. xi-xii), B (a. xiii).	R (a. vi).
40 = 43 = 41	41	44					78	66	20	1	77	
41 = 44 = 43	43	48					79	40	32	61	78	
42 = 45 = 42	42	46				R add.	96	77	47	54	79	
44 = 46 = 45	47	47		4			77	31	54	66	32	
43 = 47 = 46	46	50		72			II	36	78	4	51	
45 = 48 = 44	49	49		51			30	75	75	II		
46 = 49 = 48	53	53		54		libb.	31	53	53	libb.		
48 = 50 = 47	51	51		32		sp.	70	16	16	sp.	H add.	
47 = 51 = 50	52	52		20			5 (T), 7 (O ₂)	15	15	56		
49 = 52 = 51	54	54		12			7 (T), 5 (O ₂)	17	17	3		
50 = 53 = 49	55	55		30		C add.	14 (T), 4 (O ₂)	18	18	libb.		
51 = 54 = 52	49	49					4 (T), 14 (O ₂)	19	19	sp.	II	
52 = 55 = 53	59	59		N add.			56	26	26		libb.	
53 = 56 = 57	65	65		4		libb.	3	25	25		sp.	
54 = 57 = 58	56	56					72	9	9		80	
56 = 58 = 59	57	57		72		41x	12 (O ₂)	29	29		libb.	
55 = 59 = 55	58	58		(71 ¹)		73	53	56	29		sp.	

at a glance that our MS. O_3 is related to the Sorbonne MS. (H), the importance of which has not yet been fully estimated. The lists even give us the power of prediction. The MS. O_4 belongs to the oldest part of the Bodleian collection, having been presented to the Library in 1610, and its contents have never been exactly catalogued. There is however a partial index at the beginning in a hand contemporary with the MS. It appeared from this that, although there was considerable *prima facie* resemblance to the New College MS. O_5 , there were still some ten or twelve points of difference. On examination it turned out that almost every one of these arose either from a mistake in the cataloguing of the New College MS. or from an omission in the index of the MS. in the Bodleian. In this connexion too it may be mentioned that the text of the *Testimonia* in the small New College MS. n_2 , though of the fifteenth century, closely resembles that of Cod. Sessorianus (A) which is of the eight or ninth. The text of A was followed by Hartel in his edition, and though it is faulty as representing what Cyprian actually wrote, it is yet both remarkable in itself and unique among the MSS. hitherto examined. As A is extant only in the *Testimonia*, we may look to find a substitute for it in the New College MS. for the other treatises. The lateness of the MS. (which seems however to be correctly written) would be abundantly counterbalanced if it should really add a new family to those already recognised.

All these observations lie much upon the surface. But what we want to do is to get below the surface: we want to find the order of the archetypes of the different groups; and then to work back from these to the archetypes of the archetypes, and to see how near they will bring us to Cyprian himself.

Whether its exact date be 359 or not, in any case the Cheltenham List bears tangible marks of a greater antiquity than any of the MSS. We begin therefore with it; and it must be confessed that so far as the Treatises are concerned—

not as we shall see for the Epistles—the results are rather disappointing. Only at the beginning and end does its order agree with that of any of the other documents. It is clear, however, that the order I, IV, VI, which we find running through so many of our MSS., was an order that had been fixed at the time when the List was drawn up—we shall not be wrong in saying practically within a century of Cyprian's death. The order of the *Testimonia* coming immediately before the Epistles—it is introduced by an epistle (in the strictest sense) and is addressed to an individual—and that of the *Sententiae Episcoporum* or minutes of the Council of Carthage coming in the midst of them had also been established. The Council indeed comes in its proper historical place among the letters which bear on the controversy as to Rebaptism with which it deals. The two ends of the Cheltenham List thus present us with fixed types of order that are largely represented in our MSS.; but the order of the eight intermediate treatises agrees with that of none of the MSS. Even if we break it up into the smallest possible fractions, there are only the two pairs, XI, X, which has a parallel in *W*, and VIII, XII, which occurs again in the group *CRV*.

Another list which is also disappointing is that of the last-mentioned group *CRV* itself. The Verona MS. (*V*) is an eccentric but valuable authority which was used for the Aldine edition of 1563 by Latino Latini, the scholar to whom it was entrusted. Latini, who shows a very good spirit of criticism, was greatly impressed by the age of the MS., which he believed to be not less than a thousand years old. He complains bitterly of the way in which the printers tampered with his text, substituting Vulgate readings for those of the MSS.; and he refused to let his name appear in the edition. Soon after this the MS. was presented by the canons of Verona to Cardinal Borromeo, and from that time has been lost sight of. Fortunately Latini had made notes of his collation of the MS., many of which are preserved in the margin of an Aldine copy at Göttingen, and in other copies used by

Rigault, Baluze, and in the Oxford edition¹. Partly from these sources, which he has tracked with great care, and partly from the allied MSS. *C* and *R* (both of the ninth century), Hartel has gone far to recover the text of the MS., which he attributes conjecturally to the seventh century. In the order of the Treatises *V* maintains its character for eccentricity. It has, however, the common beginning I, IV, the triplet V, VII, VIII, which is very widely spread, and the pair of which we have just spoken as agreeing with the Cheltenham List, VIII, XII.

In these two instances our tabulation has not carried us very far; but when we turn to the other MSS. much longer vistas seem to be opened. Notably is this the case with Cod. Seguerianus (*S*). This is Hartel's leading MS., and the oldest MS. (sixth century) extant for the Treatises, so that its affinities are of especial importance. We have only to look at the Tables to see how far-reaching those affinities are. They suggest welcome conclusions as to the value of our own Oxford MSS. The MS. is much mutilated, so that the coincidences with *O*₂, which are striking enough as it is, might have been even more striking if the MS. had been complete. *O*₄ and *O*₅, again, are very closely allied; and I have pointed out elsewhere the interest which attaches to portions at least of the text of these MSS.² *W* also joins the group; and *W* is another MS. which is by no means devoid of interest.

After *S* comes the archetype of a large number of MSS., *MQEI*, and among them our MS. *b*, as well as in a more qualified sense of *TZ*. This archetype Hartel assigns to the eighth century, and it too has many affinities which will be worth examining. The ultimate descent of this group from an archetype which is also the archetype of *S* is the salient fact about it.

Other groups now come into view. Chief among these is that which includes the Lauresham MS. (*L*). In some parts

¹ Hartel, *Praef.*, pp. ix.-xiv.

² *Old-Latin Texts*, Part ii. p. 129 f.

at least *L* is one of the very best MSS. we have. In the *Testimonia* it is our rallying-point, and as a rough test of other MSS. it may be said that they are good in proportion as they agree with *L*¹. *L* itself is of the ninth century; so is its fellow MS. *P*; and the third in the group, *N*, is of the tenth. Now some of our Oxford MSS. have a marked resemblance in the text of the *Testimonia* to *L*—conspicuously *O*₁ and *O*₃. Both are MSS. that I have no doubt well deserve exploring. But *O*₃ agrees in order closely with *H*, and so brings *H* into the vortex, if we may say so, of the good texts. *O*₁ has a rather peculiar order which coincides at the outset with *P*. In the middle *P* branches off into what one may call the main line of tradition—the line of *S O*₄ *W* and the like. It is unfortunate that for all these earlier treatises *L* itself is not extant. That leaves a number of problems to be solved. Is the line of *L* continued in *P*, in *O*₁, or in *O*₃ and *H*? This line may not prove of equal value to *L*, but it should at least be tested.

Last but not least in this part of our enquiry comes the *B* group, which here in Oxford is represented by the Lincoln MS. (Z). *B* is itself of the eleventh century. It has affinities on the one hand with *H*, on the other hand with *MQ*, and I have found it coincide in important readings with *V*; so that on all sides it is in touch with good and ancient texts. It may be mixed, as Hartel says; but there are good ingredients in the mixture.

It is of course true that in any or all of these cases the affinity of order is only of importance so far as it goes along with an affinity of text, and when that affinity of text has been proved the later document may be only a more corrupt reproduction of the earlier. But the value of these relations of order is that they put us upon the track of other relations which were in some cases quite unsuspected; and they are

¹ *Old-Latin Biblical Texts*, ii. p. lxiv: the same conclusion had been arrived at independently by Dombart in the essay on Commodian previously mentioned (*Z. f. wiss. Theol.* 1879, p. 383).

especially welcome when they suggest a means of supplementing the defects of primary MSS.

Before going on to discuss the various arrangements of the Epistles, it may be convenient to have before us a list of these with a brief indication of their subjects, so as to enable us to see how far the grouping has been determined by similarity of subject-matter. For this purpose a few simple headings are chosen ('lapsed,' 'Novatian,' 'heretical baptism,' and the like), without entering into the details and phases of controversy: it should be understood that 'martyrdom' is taken in a wide sense so as to include 'confession.' Letters written by other persons than Cyprian are printed in italics; but the synodical letters are not thus distinguished, as they are probably Cyprian's composition.

THE EPISTLES.

No.	Address.	Subject.	Σελος.	Lines in Hartel's Edition.
1.	People of Furni	clerical guardian ...	...	...
2.	Eucratius	actor	40	35
3.	Rogatianus	refractory deacon ...	...	...
4.	Pomponius	virgins ... ..	...	...
5.	Clergy of Carthage ...	poor... ..	...	...
6.	Confessors at Carthage...	... ..	...	...
7.	Clergy of Carthage ...	poor ... ..	...	...
8.	<i>Roman Clergy to Car-</i> <i>thage</i>	retirement of Cyprian	...	...
9.	Cyprian's Reply ... ..	... ..	...	...
10.	Martyrs and Confessors	{ martyrdom of Map- palicus... .. }	140	118
11.	Clergy of Carthage ...	prayer	190	159
12.	The same	care of martyrs ...	72	46
13.	Martyrs and Confessors	... ..	...	...
14.	Clergy of Carthage ...	{ care of poor and con- fessors ... .. }	...	..
15.	Martyrs and Confessors...	{ lapsed ... .. }	...	...
16.	Clergy of Carthage... ..			
17.	Laity of Carthage... ..			
18.	Clergy of Carthage... ..			
19.	The same... ..	{ explanations }	70	59
20.	Roman Clergy			

No.	Address.	Subject.	Σελ. γκε.	Lines in Hartel's Edition.
21.	<i>Celerinus to Lucianus</i> ...	...	...	...
22.	<i>Lucianus to Celerinus</i> ...	...	...	...
23.	Confessors to Cyprian ...	lapsed ...	...	...
24.	<i>Caldonius to Cyprian</i> ...	sacrificati ...	...	...
25.	Cyprian's Reply ...	...	...	...
26.	Clergy of Carthage ...	...	...	...
27.	Roman Clergy ...	lapsed ...	...	...
28.	Moyse, Maximus, and other Roman Confessors	martyrdom ...	70	53
29.	Clergy of Carthage...	appointment of reader and sub-deacon ...	...	...
30.	<i>Roman Clergy to Cyprian</i>	lapsed ...	...	...
31.	<i>Reply of Moyse, etc.</i> ...	martyrdom and lapsed	...	...
32.	Clergy of Carthage ...	review of correspondence	...	...
33.	The lapsed ...	...	...	...
34.	Clergy of Carthage ...	...	...	...
35.	Roman Clergy ...	lapsed ...	...	...
36.	<i>Reply of Roman Clergy</i>...	...	...	...
37.	Moyse, Maximus, etc. ...	martyrdom ...	120	86
38.	Clergy and people of Carthage ...	appointment of reader	54	44
39.	The same ...	appointment of reader	100	92
40.	The same ...	appointment of presbyter ...	30	25
41.	Caldonius and 4 others	Feliciassimus ...	...	...
42.	<i>Reply of Caldonius and 4 others</i>	...	...	...
43.	People of Carthage ...	Feliciassimus ...	...	...
44.	Cornelius... ..	Novatian... ..	[Nine letters to Cornelius: σελ. 1108]	...
45.	Cornelius... ..			
46.	Maximus and Roman Confessors ...			
47.	<i>Cornelius to Cyprian</i> ...			
48.	Cornelius ...			
49.	<i>Cornelius to Cyprian</i> ...	Novatus ...	...	...
50.	<i>The same</i> ...			
51.	Cornelius... ..			
52.	Cornelius... ..	...	...	...
53.	<i>Maximus and 3 others to Cyprian</i> ...	Novatian... ..	650	560
54.	<i>Maximus and 3 others</i> ...			
55.	<i>Antonianus</i> ...			
56.	<i>Fortunatus and 5 others</i>	lapsed ...	...	...
57.	42 African Bishops to Cornelius ...			

294 *The Cheltenham List of the Canonical Books,*

No.	Address.	Subject.	Στίχοι.	Lines in Hartel's Edition.
58.	People of Thibaris	martyrdom ... ..	...	...
59.	Cornelius... ..	Felicissimus ... ..	...	...
60.	Cornelius... ..	martyrdom ... ..	...	...
61.	Lucius			
62.	Numidian Bishops... ..	redemption of captives ... ..	...	...
63.	Caecilius	sacrament of the cup	450	375
64.	African Synod to Fidus	baptism of infants	106	97
65.	Epictetus and Laity of Assurae	lapsed bishop ... ..	...	...
66.	Florentius Puppianus ...	personal calumnies	207	194
67.	37 African Bishops to Felix and people of Legio and Asturica, Aelius and people of Emerita	lapsed bishops ...	350	212
68.	Stephen			
69.	Magnus	Marcianus of Arles	...	...
70.	31 African Bishops to Januarius and 17 others	...	284	388
71.	Quintus	heretical baptism ...	100	83
72.	Stephen	persecution of Valerian ... ..	...	...
73.	Jubaianus			
74.	Pompeius			
75.	Firmilian to Cyprian ...			
76.	Nemesianus and 8 other Bishops with clergy in the mines	persecution of Valerian ... ..	...	...
77.	Reply of Nemesianus and 3 others			
78.	Reply from Lactius and others			
79.	Reply from Felix and 2 other Bishops with clergy	his own approaching martyrdom ... ..	...	...
80.	Successus			
81.	Clergy and people of Carthage ... ..	...	...	...

In order to put some limit to the number of points which are raised by the tabulated lists, I will confine myself primarily to the Cheltenham MS., and only touch incidentally upon the others. The grouping of the letters in the Cheltenham List is partly obvious and partly comes out on a very little examination.

First we have a group addressed to Cornelius, bishop of Rome. These it is clear had been so long collected together and were so habitually circulated under the same cover that the single letters are not indicated, but they are reckoned in the mass *Ad Cornelium VIII*¹ with 1108 *στίχοι*. If we look at the order in the MSS. we shall see that in *TO*₂ there is a group of eight letters beginning with 60 and ending with 51: in the archetype of *MQ*, etc., and in that of *O*₄ *O*₆ there is the same group in the same order. In *B*₁ there is the same group in a slightly different order, 60 and 57 being removed from the top to the bottom. In *CRV*, which it will be remembered carry us back to the seventh century, and in *H*₃ there are only seven letters, 51 being omitted. In the *L* family the group is curiously broken up, only four of the letters remaining together, 47, 45, 48, 44, with 57 and 59 at no great distance, and 51, 52 scattered among the other letters. It will be observed, however, that this small collection includes one letter, No. 48, which does not appear in any other of the principal lists². It is a letter of Cyprian to Cornelius, and is no doubt rightly inserted by Mommsen in this group. On the other hand, Mommsen omits the letter from the African Synod to Cornelius (No. 57), which is found in all the other lists. We note that *CRV* make up for their omission of 48 and 51 by appending to the letters of Cyprian to Cornelius the two from Cornelius to Cyprian (Nos. 49, 50), which have got separated from their proper connexion in the other MSS. I say separated from their proper connexion, though *TO*₂ have found for them a connexion

¹ This is undoubtedly the reading of the MS., and not viii, as Mommsen had in his notes (see above, p. 225). It is however of course possible that the archetype may have had viii; and the number of *στίχοι* assigned to the group perhaps suggests that it had.

² But is there not some omission or mistake? Hartel does not give the letter in the table of contents of *C* and *R* (p. 1), and yet he quotes both *C* and *V* in the *Apparatus* to the letter (both it is true only once). In *Z* the letter is actually designated viii. I do not quite reconcile what Hartel says about the agreement of *Z* and *V* (p. xlv) with the place of *Z* in the genealogy (p. xlviii).

which is nearly as good—that of the correspondence between Rome and Carthage, *Epp.* 8, 35, 36. *Epp.* 49 and 50 are only separated from these by *Ep.* 33 addressed by Cyprian to the lapsed of his own Church.

Among the MSS. which contain the group is the sixth-century Bobbio MS. *F.* This MS., at best a fragment, is subdivided into two still smaller fragments, one in the Ambrosian library at Milan, and the other at Turin. In the Ambrosian portion letters 47, 45, 41 are numbered respectively xxxvii, xxxviii, xxxix in a hand of the fifteenth century: in the Turin portion, letters 1, 46, 56, 20, 30 are numbered xlv, xlv, xlviii (three times repeated for xlv, xlvii, xlviii) in the same hand as the text of the MS. Clearly the MS. was still entire when the more recent hand supplied certain missing numbers. It is probable that it contained before the point at which the Ambrosian fragment begins at least the two collections of which we are about to speak.

Next in distinctness to the Cornelian group is another which stands near the head of the Cheltenham List: 10, 28, 37, 11, 38, 39. This is found in nearly all the families, including the lost seventh-century MS. *V.*, the eighth-century archetype of *MQ*, etc., and the archetype (which is probably older than the eighth century) of *LNP*. It may be traced back even further than this, because besides its presence in the Cheltenham List a portion of it at least (*Epp.* 10, 28, 37—in this order) appears to have been used by Lucifer of Cagliari¹. We may infer that the collection was already made within a century of Cyprian's death. It has also another claim upon our attention besides its antiquity. The two oldest members of the *MQ* family have a subscription at the end of *Epp.* 28, 37, EMENDAVIT JUSTINUS ROMAE²; and there is a similar subscription at the end of *Ep.* 39, except that ROMAE is omitted. As *Ep.* 39 closes the group, while *Epp.*

¹ See Hartel's Index to Lucifer and Harnack in *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1886, col. 174.

² Hartel, p. xlv.

28, 37 occur high up in it, it is fair to suppose that the subscription covers the whole group of six Epistles, from 10 to 39. It probably also included at least 6, 58, as the series 6, 58, 10, 28, 37 all have a common subject—martyrdom. The spurious treatise *De Laude Martyrii* is also associated with them. It is a matter of speculation at what point in the history of the group Justin's recension took place. Most of the famous recensions the authors of which can be identified, such as the Nicomachean recension of the First Decade of Livy, Niceus' recension of Juvenal, the Asterian recension of Virgil, and the Mavortian of Ovid, range between the end of the fourth and the middle of the sixth centuries: and we shall probably not be wrong in assigning those limits to the date of Justin. Scholarship in all its forms declined rapidly during the sixth century.

The two letters 55 and 63 which precede those of Justin's recension are both more of the length and character of treatises, and were apparently regarded as such, though, as I have said, in ancient times the distinction between treatises and epistles does not seem to have been observed. They stand in a sort of near but loose connexion with the Justin group.

The letters 73, 71, 74, 69, and the records of the Carthaginian Council, all belong to the controversy on heretical baptism. With these was naturally joined *Ep.* 64, to Fidus, on the baptism of infants (Fidus wanted to defer baptism till the eighth day, after the precedent of circumcision). *Ep.* 67 which goes with the same group both in the Cheltenham List and elsewhere, is the letter from an African Synod to the Churches of Astorga, Leon, and Merida in Spain, about the deposition of the bishops Basilides and Martialis. Why this letter, and also *Ep.* 2, about the actor who continued to practise his calling as a Christian, should be joined to the group is not very apparent; but the connexion exists in nearly all the MSS. It may be that the common idea running through the group is that of 'disabilities;' or the conjunction may be due to the local circumstances under which the

collection was made. It seems probable that this collection at least was put together in Africa. Otherwise it would hardly have contained the *Sententiae Episcoporum*. The resolutions of the Council would naturally be forwarded to other Churches, but not its minutes. But there was considerable intercourse between Spain and Africa. Juvencus used an African text.

There remain six letters, 40, 66, 12, 32, 20, 30. Of these, 40 and 66 are connected in the archetype of the *MQ* family, preserved in *M*. There is no clear connexion of subject between them: 40 deals with the ordination of Numidicus, 66—an epistle of much dignity and severity—is addressed to the recalcitrant confessor, Florentius. The other letters, 12, 32, 20, 30, are combined besides not only in the later MSS. *Hβ*, but also in the important sixth-century MS. *F*. They appear to be the nucleus of a small collection of correspondence with the Church at Rome.

Just in this portion of the Cheltenham List we are in the presence, not of larger aggregations, but of smaller fractions of correspondence, which circulated rather as the waifs and strays of the collection, yet with a tendency to cohere.

We may pause to draw out summarily these four collections.

> denotes an insertion in the MS. in question not found in most other MSS.

[] denote a displacement, the letter occurring in the MS. but in another connexion. When the displacement occurs within the group the insertion only is noticed. A bracket enclosing several numbers shows that they occur together and that their relative order is preserved.

V. Table showing the Order of some Early Collections of Cyprian's Epistles.

JUSTIN COLLECTION (A).						CORNELIAN COLLECTION (B).					
Ind. Chelton.	L. T. &c.	M &c.	H &c.	B &c.	V &c.	Ind. Chelton. [order uncertain.]	H M T &c.	B &c.	L &c.	V &c.	F
55		55	55	[55]	> 58	60	60	[60]	[60]	57	57
63	63	63		63	63	57	57	[57]	[57]	59	
	6	6	6	> 30	6	59	59	[59]	[59]	> 60	
	> 55	> 58				52	52	52	52 (R)	52	52
10	10	10			10	47	47	47	47	47	47
28	28	28	28	28	28	45	45	45	45	45	45
37	37	37	37	37	37	48	44	44	48	44	> 41
				> 10		44	44	44	44	44	44
11	11	11	11	11	11	51	51	51			
38	38	38	38	[38]	38					> 49	
39	39	39	39	[39]	39					> 50	
	58 (PT)		58	58			13		[13]	13	
										> 55	
	> 60						43	[43]	43	> 69	
							65	[65]	[65]	65	

MIXED COLLECTION (D).
(Personal and Roman.)

COLLECTION ON REBAPTISM (C).

Ind. Chelton.	L T &c.	B &c.	H &c.	V &c.	Ind. Chelton.	L.	M.	T.	H.	B.	F.
73	> 76	73	73	> 76	> 40	> 11	[66]	[66]	66	66	
71	73	71	71		66	66	[40]	[40]			
70	71	70	70	70		40	4	4	4	4	4
XIV	XIV	XIV		> 16		4	56	56		> 11	
			> 63	> 15			3	3	3	> lib. > sp.	
74	74	> 72	> 76			72	72	72	72	1	
> 72	74	74	74			[1]	1	[1]	61	61	61
> 64						61	61	61	1	[46]	1
69	69	69	69			[46]	46	[46]	46		46
				> 40		> 51	[56]	[56]	56	[56]	56
67	67		> 40			[56]	54	[54]	54	54	54
2	64	64	64	64	12	32	32	[32]		32	
> 761	2	2	2	2	32	20	20	[20]	20	[20]	20
					20	12	12	[12]		[12]	
					30	30	[31]	[30]	30	[30]	30
							[31]	[31]	31		31

And now we ask, what is the bearing of these groupings on the criticism of Cyprian's works? We turn to the letters which have not been identified by Mommsen: provisional identifications have been proposed for these, but they need to be explained rather more in detail. The first that meets us is No. 21 on the list (p. 224 above), *Aurelio lectori pro ordinato*. This follows *Ep.* 38, and it ~~is~~ followed immediately by *Ep.* 39. In other words, it comes in the middle of a group, the recension of Justin, where none of the MSS. have any letter at all. Is it a lost letter? It may be, but I doubt it. I suspect that Nos. 20, 21 were originally a single title, which in the course of transcription has got broken in two. I suspect that the title originally ran: *Ad clerum* [probably without *et plebem*, for it seems to be the custom of the list to omit this addition; cf. No. 39 = *Ep.* 20] *pro Aurelio lectore ordinato*. This merely involves the displacement of *pro*, for which there are parallels enough in the scribe's note containing the date and the account of the stichometry, and the change of *lector* into *lectore*. The use of *pro* instead of *de* of the MSS. would be appropriate, because the letter is commendatory of Aurelius. There is however some difficulty about the *στίχοι* assigned to this imaginary letter. It is not clear where the number CXL came from, unless it was from the next letter but one, CXC above.

The next of the unidentified letters would be Nos. 25, 26. Here again we have two letters where there ought to be only one, No. 70, as in the *LNP* collection. And again I am tempted to ask whether we have not in these two supposed letters *Ep.* 70 in disguise. Mommsen thinks that the title of No. 25 stands for *Adae et presbyteris XIII numero*, while in No. 26 the number of the 'co-addressees' (if the English language will admit such a word) has dropped out before *ñ*. But that, if I am not mistaken, gives a wrong order: the regular phrase is not *XIII ñ* but *ñ XIII*. Besides, there is no such person anywhere else in Cyprian's correspondence as *Adam*. That is of course not conclusive. But putting it together

with the fact that we ought from the MSS. to have one letter here and one only, I would take leave to conjecture that we have again a single letter split in two. The title would then be *Ad presbyteros numero XVIII presbyteri numero XXX* (for XXXI?). The ambiguity as to case of the contraction *prb* was a fruitful source of confusion.

Of the two remaining gaps, at Nos. 29 and 34, I should have little hesitation in filling the first with *Ep.* 72. Both the address *Ad Stephanum* and the number of *στίχοι* would agree well (100 as compared with 79 lines of Hartel's text). And the letter certainly belongs to this group, in which it appears with no more inversion of position than is found several times elsewhere in *B*, though it has travelled into another and less suitable connexion (Collection D) in *LTH*. The other, No. 34, we might be disposed to identify with *Ep.* 76 (To Nemesianus, Felix, Lucius, etc. in the Mines); but in that case the number of *στίχοι* must have been largely corrupted. In the address of the preceding letter (*Luci ad Eucratium*) *Luci* appears out of place. There is no mention of Lucius in *Ep.* 2. But Lucius is found with Felix in the address of *Ep.* 76; so that it may be right to bring down *Luci[o]* into the next line, making the title run *Felici Lucio* or *Lucio Felici et ceteris*. The place of this letter would be somewhat peculiar. Only in one list, that of *T*, does it come where it ought, along with *Epp.* 77, 78, 79: it is more often found at the head of the group on Rebaptism. If the identification just suggested is right, the Cheltenham List would have it at the foot instead of at the head. But I am not altogether satisfied about this letter.

It may be well to set side by side the text of the MSS. with the corrections proposed in it.

TEXT OF THE CHELTENHAM MS., WITH
MOMMSEN'S NUMBERING OF THE
WORKS OF CYPRIAN.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 19. <i>de precando deum CX.C.</i> | } |
| 20. <i>ad clerum L.III.I.</i> | |
| 21. <i>Aurelio lectori pro ordinato</i>
<i>CXL.</i> | |
| 25. <i>Adē prb̄ XIII. n̄. XXX.</i> | } |
| 26. <i>Adē prb̄ n̄. CXX.</i> | |
| 29. <i>ad Stephanum C.</i> | |
| 33. <i>Luci ad Eucratium XL.</i> | |
| 34. <i>Felici et ceteris XX.</i> | |
| 35. <i>de Numidia conf. XXX.</i> | |

THE SAME CORRECTED AND IDENTIFIED
WITH EPISTLES AS NUMBERED IN
HARTEL'S EDITION.

- | |
|---|
| Ep. 11. <i>de precando deum CX.C.</i> |
| Ep. 38. <i>ad clerum pro Aurelio lectore</i>
<i>ordinato L.III.I.</i> |
| Ep. 70. <i>ad prb̄ n̄. XVIII prb̄ n̄. XXX</i>
<i>CXX (= ad presbyteros numero</i>
<i>XVIII presbyteri numero</i>
<i>XXX [versus] CXX).</i> |
| Ep. 72. <i>ad Stephanum C.</i> |
| Ep. 2. <i>ad Eucratium XL.</i> |
| Ep. 76. <i>Felici Luci[o] et ceteris CC?</i> |
| Ep. 40. <i>de Numidico confessore XXX.</i> |

In regard to the stichometry, it is hopeless to expect exact results with no means of checking the single items such as we possess in the case of the Biblical stichometries. The results which I obtain, however, are rather nearer the total in the MS. than Dr. Mommsen's. The MS. total is 18,500 *στίχοι* for all the works enumerated. I make the single items amount in all to 16,456. But no figures are given for the treatise *De Dominica Oratione*, which occupies 719 lines in Hartel's edition. The proportion of *στίχοι* to Hartel's lines I make to be for the 35 safely identified treatises and letters (without the *Testimonia*), roughly speaking, 6 : 5. For the treatises alone the proportion is higher : for the first ten it appears to be approximately 16 : 13. This is reckoned upon the basis of the estimates given by Mommsen (p. 155 f.). We may allow therefore some 880 *στίχοι* for the missing treatise. This gives a grand total of 17,336, which might be taken to favour the view that *Ī* had dropped out from the number assigned to Book III of the *Testimonia*. It would however be as easy to suppose that *Ī* had been repeated by mistake in the total XVIII D.

APPENDIX¹.

[C. H. TURNER.]

I. THE OLD TESTAMENT STICHOMETRY.

TAKING as a starting-point the quotation from the Apocalypse (iv. 11) which immediately follows the list of Old Testament books—‘Sed ut in Apocalypsis Johannis dictum est: “vidi XXIII seniores mittentes coronas suas ante thronum²,” maiores nostri probant hos libros esse canonicos et hoc dixisse seniores’—it is an obvious conclusion that the Books of the Old Testament are reckoned at 24³. This being so, it is natural to ask how the number is obtained; and I can only succeed in securing exactly this total by the following calculation: the Books of the Heptateuch, 7; Ruth and Kings, 5; Chronicles, 2; Maccabees, 2; Job, Tobit, Esther, Judith, Psalms, 1 each; altogether 21, leaving for Solomon, 1; for the Major Prophets, 1; for the Minor Prophets, 1.

For the treatment of the Books of Solomon, as in some sense a unit, a parallel may be found in the method of quotation employed in Cyprian’s *Testimonia*. The phrase *in sapientia Salomonis* introduces texts from both Proverbs and Wisdom; with *item*

¹ Dr. Sanday has kindly asked me to add to his paper some notes on the stichometry, and more particularly on that of St. Cyprian’s works.—C. H. T.

² A further argument, if one were needed, for the African origin of our document, might be drawn from the form of the text. *Mittentes* is a coincidence with Primasius against all other authorities; *thronum*, too, excludes at least the Italian text of St. Ambrose, &c., which seems to use *sedes* invariably for *θρόνος*.

I feel so much difficulty in understanding *seniores* in two different senses in successive lines (cf. *sup.* p. 237), that I venture to suggest tentatively the translation, ‘Our predecessors approve that these books are canonical, and that this is what “the elders” (of the Apocalypse) meant,’ i.e. what is meant by 24 ‘elders’ is an equal number of canonical books.

³ It is a curious coincidence that the Books of the New Testament, as the text stands at present, amount to the same number: 4 Gospels, 13 Epistles of St. Paul, Acts, Apocalypse, 3 Epistles of St. John, 2 of St. Peter.

illic he passes from Proverbs to Ecclesiasticus, from Proverbs to Wisdom, or from Proverbs to Ecclesiastes; with *apud eundem* from Wisdom to Proverbs, from Ecclesiastes to Ecclesiasticus. There need be no hesitation in accepting the inference that if the four Books of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Wisdom, and Ecclesiasticus, were treated as one by the great African writer of the third century, the same phenomenon is not unnatural in any African writer of the fourth.

But one of the Books of Solomon is entirely unrepresented in the quotations of the *Testimonia*. Canticles are only quoted by Cyprian three times (*De Eccl. Unit.* § 4; *Ep.* lxi. § 2; *Ep.* lxxiv. § 11), and in each case by the title *In Cantico Canticorum*. But if the book is not to be included under the general title 'Solomon,' it must have been absent altogether from the Cheltenham List. Whether parallels for this could be found I do not know; I have only noticed (1) that Aphraates is said to cite every Book of the Old Testament except Canticles and the short prophecy of Obadiah (*Zahn, Neutest. Kan.* i. p. 374, n. 2); (2) that Theodore of Mopsuestia, as we learn from his follower Junilius and from his opponent Leontius of Byzantium, rejected Canticles as well as several other books of the Old Testament (Watkins, *Bampton Lectures*, p. 118; Westcott, *Canon*, p. 544). Taken together, this evidence may seem to show that the Syrian Church of the fourth and fifth century was at least suspicious of the book. In any case the hypothesis of its exclusion here would not have merited mention at all, if it were not that it affords, as will be seen, a possible clue to the restoration of the stichometry.

In estimating the correctness of the stichometries for the different books, we have for guide, as in the case of the Cyprianic stichometry further on, the total given at the end of the list; but we have also, what for Cyprian fails us, a comparison with similar lists preserved elsewhere. Dr. Sanday has shown (p. 266) that the stichometries found in Vulgate MSS. are substantially the same as that of our list. With the obvious substitution of CCL for CCI in the Book of Ruth, the list proceeds *pari passu* with the MSS. until we reach the Book of Job, where however the 1800 of the Cheltenham List is supported by some Vulgate MSS. against the 1700 of the majority. The figure for the Book of Esther has disappeared from the list, just as happens to the treatise *De Dominica Oratione* of St. Cyprian; and the explanation in both cases is substantially the same, namely, some confusion with similar

306 *The Cheltenham List of the Canonical Books,*

cyphers for books in the immediate neighbourhood. We should doubtless supply the lacuna here with the 700 of the Vulgate. On the other hand, the Book of Psalms is unnumbered in the MSS., but reckoned at 5000 στίχοι in the list. In none of these instances is there much uncertainty about the true reading. It is otherwise with four of the remaining numbers, those for Solomon, for the Major Prophets as a whole, for Ezekiel, and for Daniel; and here it will be helpful to reproduce the concluding figures of the list and of the MSS.

	Cheltenham List.	Same conjecturally restored.	Vulgate MSS.
Solomon	ver. $\overline{\text{VD}}$ = 5500	$\overline{\text{VII XL}}$	[total of 5 books, 7320]
Major Pro- phets	ver. $\overline{\text{XVI CCCLXX}}$ = 16370	$\overline{\text{XIII CCCXX}}$	[total of 4 books, 13220 (or 13320)]
Isaiah	ver. $\overline{\text{III DLXXX}}$ = 3580		3580
Jeremiah	ver. $\overline{\text{III CCCCL}}$ = 4450		4450
Daniel	ver. $\overline{\text{OO CCCL}}$ = 1350	$\overline{\text{OOD CCCL}}$	1850
Ezekiel	ver. $\overline{\text{III DCCC}}$ = 3800	$\overline{\text{III CCCCXL}}$	3340 (or 3440)
Minor Pro- phets	ver. $\overline{\text{III DCCC}}$ = 3800		3800

The figures for Isaiah, Jeremiah, and the Minor Prophets coincide with the MSS., and may be taken as correct. As to Ezekiel, the scribe's eye has apparently wandered on to the next line, for he has written the same figure as for the Minor Prophets. The figure for Daniel requires the insertion of D, which has perhaps slipped down to the next line, and facilitated the confusion of the figures for Ezekiel and the Minor Prophets. The sum given as the total for the four Prophets, if it is to tally exactly with the majority of Vulgate MSS., should be $\overline{\text{XIII CCXX}}$, and we can at once emend the first cyphers of the Cheltenham List, $\overline{\text{XVI}}$ being an easy confusion for $\overline{\text{XIII}}$; if next we suppose that the list had the figure given by some Vulgate MSS. for Ezekiel, 3440 (for 3340), the corrected total becomes $\overline{\text{XIII CCCXX}}$, and we have now only to excise an L from the figure of the Cheltenham List.

There is left only the figure for 'Solomon' to deal with. The items for the other 23 books, if put together, now come to 62460. The total given by the list for the whole 24 is 69500. The difference of 7040 should therefore be the correct figure for the remaining book. $\overline{\text{VD}}$ is the existing figure, and this would re-

present without much difficulty VII; then the L, which has unwarrantably crept into the next line (the Major Prophets), will help us to the missing cyphers of VII XL. The change is no doubt drastic, but there seems no way in which 5500, as it now stands in the list, can be harmonized with the data of the Vulgate MSS.; and it is not without weight that the number 7040, arrived at on independent grounds, is the exact sum of the Vulgate figures for four Solomonian books, and these the four quoted in close connexion by St. Cyprian: Proverbs, 1740 στίχοι; Ecclesiastes, 800; Wisdom, 1700; Ecclesiasticus, 2800; total, 7040. This result, however, and the consequent omission of Canticles, while it explains and reconciles a good deal, must remain at present only a hypothesis, and a hypothesis not entirely free from difficulty¹.

II. NEW TESTAMENT STICHOMETRY.

The New Testament stichometry finds similar parallels for the Gospels, Acts, and Apocalypse in the Vulgate MSS.; and the only correction needed to bring the list into accordance with the MSS., and at the same time to make the items of the four Gospels harmonize with their total, is the addition of the cypher D to the figure for St. Luke. Our real difficulties do not begin till the concluding lines—

ep̄l̄ae Johannis III v̄er CCCCL.
una sola
ep̄l̄ae Petri II v̄er CCC
una sola.

Zahn's explanation of this curious duplication is accepted by Prof. Sanday (p. 243 sup.): 'The author of the list had before him a catalogue containing the full number of three Epistles of St. John and two of St. Peter; but while himself transcribing this, he at the same time inserted a protest in favour of the single Epistle in each case which he had himself been in the habit of recognising.' No doubt this is the *prima facie* interpretation of the words; and yet it must seem very improbable that a scribe should have had before him a list which, while it excluded

¹ It should perhaps be pointed out in favour of the alternative hypothesis of the retention of Canticles, that the five books of Solomon according to the stichometry of the Vulgate MSS. would amount to 7320 (280 being reckoned to Canticles), and the later figures of this number VII cocxx might conceivably have been lost by confusion with the similar figures of the next number in our list, XIII cocxx (as restored) of the major Prophets.

Hebrews, and generally was arranged in so antique an order, yet represented a later stage in the history of the Canon by including at least five Catholic Epistles. Even if we suppose that only the five actually mentioned (three of St. John and two of St. Peter) belonged to the original list, the difficulty is enhanced by the inclusion of 2 Peter, which has no early attestation, as against the omission of Jude, for which considerable early Western evidence can be quoted. Further, it is part of this hypothesis that the original list, with its full and later Canon of Catholic Epistles, fell into the hands of some scribe, who in turn represented an earlier and less elaborated Canon, of two Catholic Epistles only. Is it not possible, and does it not better preserve the homogeneity of the list, to reverse Zahn's hypothesis, and to suppose that the original African stichometry contained only 1 John and 1 Peter, and that what some later scribe did (whether the actual scribe of our tenth-century MS. or his predecessor) was to substitute 'epistolae Johannis III,' 'Petri II,' while at the same time he added 'una sola' as a note or saving clause in each case, implying that only one was given in the MS. before him? This would explain very simply the absence of all reference to James and Jude; the positive statement of the original 'one Epistle of John,' 'one of Peter,' seemed to the scribe to call for correction, while the mere omission of two epistles was not an error which forced itself in the same way upon his notice. Indeed, since there would have been, *ex hypothesi*, no stichometry for them in the original MS., their subsequent insertion in a stichometrical list was in itself difficult; while, on the other hand, the *στίχοι* meant for 1 Peter and 1 John only could be attached (however erroneously) to the three and two Epistles respectively. If this theory of the Canon of the Catholic Epistles be correct, the New Testament of the Cheltenham List is identical with that of St. Cyprian, who shows no trace, so far as I know, of the use either of Hebrews or of the five lesser Catholic Epistles.

III. THE CYPRIANIC STICHOMETRY.

I will commence here by supplementing the lists of the Treatises and Epistles of St. Cyprian, published on p. 283 sqq., with three lists drawn from the *Catalogi Bibliothecarum Antiqui*, of G. Becker (Bonn, 1885), the first of the ninth, the second of the tenth, the third of the twelfth century.

Index Cheltonianus.	Library of Reichenau (p. 7), A.D. 822 No. 111.	Library of Lauresham (p. 107), Saec. X. Nos. 351, 352.	Library of Bec ¹ (p. 263), Saec. XII. Nos. 105, 106.
ad Donatum	I	I	I
ad virgines	IV	X	IV
de lapsis	VI	IV	VI
de opere et eleemosynis	XI	XII	V
ad Demetrianum	X	VII	XII
de ecclesiae unitate	V	XIII	XIII
de zelo et livore	XIII	VI	VII
de mortalitate	VIII	VIII	VIII
de patientia	XII	XI	X
ad Fortunatum	IX	IX	XI
de domini oratione	VII	V	IX
ad Quirinum (Testimonia)	III	Ep. 63	ad Tiburti- num = Ep. 58?
		ad Anbari- tanos = Ep. 58	de simbolo fidei ad Lauren- tium III (libb. ii.)
		II	Epp. nume- ro xliii.
		ad Roga- tianum = Ep. 6?	
		ad presby- teros et diaconos Epp. iii = Epp. 11, 38, 39?	

The first and third of these new lists do not unfortunately

¹ Other shorter lists would be those of (1) Bobbio, saec. x. (p. 66), nos. 149-154: 149, 150, ad Demetrianum, libros ii. 151, de diligendo Deo, lib. i. 152, 153, ad Quirinum, libros ii. 154, de diversis opusculis, lib. i; (2) Pompose, A.D. 1093 (p. 159) no. 8, sermones et epistolae lxxxi: de Judaica incredulitate ad Vigilium episcopum. Versus Domini Joannis de coena mai Cypriani.

Cf. 7, no. 67 (p. 15) epistolae: 11, no. 109 (p. 27) de canonibus et institutionibus ecclesiasticorum lxxxvii (app. the *Sent. Ep.*): 15, no. 259 (p. 34) epistolae: 18, no. 36 (p. 39) omeliae: 21, no. 13, 14 (p. 42) sermones, litterae: 26, no. 21 (p. 60) cena nuptiarum: 68, no. 84 (p. 151) epistolae: 79, no. 97 (p. 187) epistolae: 80, no. 194 (p. 193) ad Donatum: 86, no. 57 (p. 201) epistolae: 95, no. 112 (p. 213) super dominicam orat.: 96, no. 59, an English monastery, (p. 216) epistolaris: 136, no. 244 (p. 283) libri iiii, cum quibusdam epistolis.

present any very striking parallels to the still unique order of the treatises in the *Index Cheltonianus*; though minor points of contact might be noted, e.g. XIII, VIII, XII of the Bec MS., compared with XIII, XII, VIII of our list. Of more interest is the Lauresham list. Beyond question it supplies the answer to the problem which Dr. Sanday propounds (p. 291, sup.), as to the order which *L* of the *Testimonia* and Epistles would have supported, if extant, for the treatises; for *L*, though now a Vienna, was originally a Lauresham MS. written in the ninth century, and is undoubtedly identical with No. 352 in the tenth-century Lauresham catalogue, *item Caecilii Cypriani epistolae numero xliiii in alio codice*, only that for xliiii we should read xlviii. But if this is so, then the companion volume No. 351, from which the list of treatises given above is reproduced, will give us just what we want. Of the twelve *epistolae* which it contains, eleven are identical with treatises of Hartel's first volume, leaving only three, the *Quod idola*, the *Testimonia*, and the *Sent. Epp.* to be accounted for; but these all occur in the second or extant volume. Conversely, the only *epistola* of this lost volume not identical with a treatise, is entitled *ad Tiburtinum*; and I have no hesitation in identifying this with Ep. 58, *ad Tibaritanos*, which is absent from the extant *L* (though every other epistle of Cyprian's own of the same length is included in its collection) and present in every large collection of the letters. Dr. Sanday speculated whether the line of *L* was continued in *P*, in *O*₁, or in *O*₂ and *H*. A comparison with the Tables on p. 283 will show that as between these MSS. it is the order of *O*₂ and *H* which reappears in *L*, with the difference that XII and XIII immediately succeed V, and that XI is postponed to VIII and X. So far as they go, these alterations bring *L* into rather nearer connection with the Cheltenham order, but the nearness is not sufficient to be striking.

It is otherwise with the order of the Epistles, where the following list will show that a very remarkable parallel to the Cheltenham List can be found in a minor MS. named by Hartel μ , to which my attention was in the first instance directed by noticing that in the *apparatus criticus* of Ep. 78, the *Luci* of No. 33 in the list was reproduced only in the *Lucii* of μ . On p. xlv of his preface Hartel gives a list of the contents of this MS., which on the ground of *scriptorum ordo passim servatus* he concludes to depend on *T*. But the following Table will show that for the Epistles

covered by the Cheltenham List, the order of μ is intermediate between *T* and *L*. It is true that it contains a large number of the letters which are peculiar to *T* among the leading MSS., but in a quite dissimilar sequence, and, so far as a hasty glance enables one to judge, probably not with a derived text¹. Even the one deviation in the order of the Treatises (*T*, XI, VIII; μ , VIII, XI) is not unimportant, for μ here coincides with *S*, *W*, *P*, *O*₂, *O*₃, *O*₅, against *O*₃, *H*, *M*:—

<i>T</i> .	μ .	Index Cheltonianus.	<i>L</i> .
III	III	(12) ad Quirinum, libri III	III ad Quirinum
Ep. 63	Ep. 63	(13) ad Antonianum = Ep. 55	Ep. 63 de sacramento do- minici calicis
6	55	(14) de calice dominico = Ep. 63	6 ad confessores
55	6 de laude martyrii	(15) de laude martyrii	55 ad Antonianum de Cornelio et Novatiano
10	10	(16) ad confessores mar- tyrum = Ep. 10	10 ad martyras et confessores
28	28	(17) Moysi et Maximo = Ep. 28	28 Mosi et Maximo presbyterorum et ceteris con- fessoribus
37	37	(18) ad eosdem alia = Ep. 37	37 quibus supra
11	11	(19) de precando deum = Ep. 11	11 ad clerum de pre- cando deo pro peccatis nostris
		(20) ad clerum	

¹ Hartel asserts (p. xlvii) that μ and four other MSS. depend on *T* so directly, that in no case does a more ancient reading appear in any one of them; where they are right against *T*, it is through conjectural restorations. On looking through Ep. 22 it seems possible that μ in the following instances may alone preserve the true reading: p. 533, l. 11, ante ipsam; p. 534, l. 13, a sapore, l. 14, tam tolleravimus, l. 18, in pignerarium; p. 535, l. 5, sit, l. 11, significastis vos, et Saturninum, etc.

It may be added that μ presents a near parallel to the MS. of Cyprian, catalogued in the 12th century at Pompuse (see sup. p. 309), which contained 81 *sermones et epistulas, de Judaica incredulitate ad Vigilium episcopum*, and *versus Domini Joannis de coena mai Cypriani*. Similarly μ after 96 letters and treatises closes with *ad Vigilium episcopum de iudaica incredulitate. Versiculos dñi Joannis de cena sc̃i Cypriani, Caenam Cypriani*.

312 *The Cheltenham List of the Canonical Books,*

<i>T.</i>	<i>μ.</i>	<i>Index Cheltonianus.</i>	<i>L.</i>
Ep. 38	38	(21) Aurelio lectori pro ordinato = Ep. 38	Ep. 38 ad clerum et plebem de Aurelio con- fessore lectore ordinato
39	39	(22) Celerino = Ep. 39	39 ad clerum et plebem de Celerino
58	58		
60. 57. 59.			60 ad Cornelium de confessione eius
52. 47. 45.			
44. 51.			
[8 Epp. to Cornelius, omitting Ep. 48]	[om. hoc loco]		[om. hoc loco]
13. 43. 65.			
1. 61. 46.			
66			
54			
76	76		76 ad martyras et confessores in metallo consti- tutos
73	73	(23) ad Iobianum = Ep. 73	73 ad Iuvaianum de hereticis bapti- zandis epistolae numero tres
71	71	(24) ad Quintum = Ep. 71	71 ad Quintum
70	70	(25) ad epr̄s XIII n̄. XXX (26) ad epr̄s n̄. CXX } = Ep. 70?	70 [no inscr.]
Sent. Epp. Ep. 74	Sent. Epp. Ep. 74	(27) Sent. Epp. (28) ad Pompeium = Ep. 74 (29) ad Stephanum = Ep. 72?	Sententiae episcoporum Ep. 74 ad Pompeium con- tra epistulam Stephani
69	69	(30) ad Fidum = Ep. 64	69 ad Magnum de Novatiano
67	40 67	(31) ad Magnum = Ep. 69	67 de Martiale et Basilide
64	64	(32) ad Martialem = Ep. 67	64 ad Fidum de in- fantibus bapti- zandis
2	2	(33) ad Eucratium = Ep. 2	2 ad Eucratium de histrione

T.	μ.	Index Cheltonianus.	L.
32. 20. 12.	60. 57. 59. 52. 47. 45. 44. 51. 13		13 de laude mart. 43. 65 12. 1. 56. 3 47. 45. 48. 44 61. 46. 57. 59 Quod idola [om.]
de laude mart.	43. 65		
40	78	(33) ^b Luci = Ep. 78	[om.]
ad Lucium et qui cum eo sunt	Luci et qui cum eo sunt		
79	79	(34) Felici et ceteris = Ep. 79	[om.]
epistula Felicia Iaderis Polianis	Felix Iader Polianus		
76	77		
77	1. 61. 46.	(35) de Numidia conf. = Ep. 40	Ep. 66 ad Florentium quem et Pup- pianum 40 de Numidico con- fessore presby- tero ordinato 4. 72. 51 54 ad Maximum pres- byterum et ur- bem et Sidonium et Macarium
	66	(36) ad Florentium = Ep. 66	32 Cyprianus ad presbyteros et diaconos 20 ad Romanos 12
	54	(37) ad presb = Ep. 54	30 Cypriano papae pprr et diaconi Romae consis- tentes
	32	(38) ad eosdem et diac = Ep. 32	[om.]
	12		[om. hoc loco]
	20	(39) ad clerum urb = Ep. 20	
	30	(40) Romani resc. = Ep. 30	
	[om.]	(41) adversus Jud.	
	[om. hoc loco]	(42-50) ad Cornelium VIII	
	[om. hoc loco]	(51) vita Cypriani	

Now by the aid of these lists and of the headings to the letters

in *L* (those for *T* and μ are, except for Epistles 78, 79, unfortunately not given in Hartel) it becomes possible to identify with certainty the letters contained in the Cheltenham stichometry. The list in *T* is not very helpful, and is chiefly given to point the contrast with the list of μ ; there is only one case in which it stands alone of the three in presenting a parallel to Mommsen's List, and that is in containing the tract *Adversus Judaeos*. But the lists in μ and *L* are of primary value. In the majority of cases the order of both is in strict agreement with that of the Cheltenham List. In only three cases do they agree against it, in the insertion of Epistle 6 (towards the beginning), of Epistle 76 (before Ep. 73) and of Epistle 12 (towards the end); but in the first and last of these cases, though the two MSS. agree in inserting the Epistles, they vary slightly in their place; and as to the first of them I shall have to ask presently whether it should not be restored to the Cheltenham List as well. Conversely, in only one case is the insertion of a letter by the List unsupported by one or other of the two MSS., namely the *Ad Stephanum*, which follows Ep. 74, and which Dr. Sanday naturally identifies with Ep. 72¹. Starting from this substantial agreement, we work back on doubtful cases. (1) With Dr. Sanday I have no manner of doubt that No. 20 of the List *ad clerum* is to be merged into the title either of No. 19 or of No. 21, both of them letters addressed to the clergy; possibly even the words formed a general marginal heading for the three letters Nos. 19, 21, 22, the inscriptions to all of which in *L* begin *ad clerum*². (2) As to Nos. 25 and 26 Dr. Sanday is of course right in rejecting Mommsen's *Adam*, and right too in seeing that Epistle 70 is contained somewhere in it. My only doubt is whether Epistle 76 which μ and *L* agree in placing in this neighbourhood (before Epistle 73) should be also discovered here. (3) Of No. 29 I have already spoken. (4) The List in μ offers, I believe, a certain clue to the identification of Nos. 33 *b* and 34. They are really Epistles 78 with the simple heading *Luci* as in μ , and Ep. 79, where, by a not unusual error, 'Felix and others,' are made the recipients instead of the writers of the letter. It is to be noted that the stichometry suits the latter Epistle exactly.

¹ But see below, p. 320.

² I should be inclined to read Nos. 21, 22 rather differently to Dr. Sanday, taking *pro* as the contraction for *presbytero*, 'de Aurelio lectori presbytero ordinato,' 'de Celerino,' comparing the headings in *L* (p. 312 *sup.*), which however correctly makes Aurelius a confessor ordained reader, not a reader ordained presbyter.

We are now in a position to sum up the results of the relationship of the two MSS. to the List. For Nos. 12 to 15 of the List, the closest parallel comes from μ , which contains the *de laude martyrii* in this part; indeed if, as I hope to show, Ep. 6 should be inserted in the List after No. 15, the group, though not the order, of the five epistles will be identical. From No. 16 to No. 22 L and μ tally exactly with the subject-matter and even order of the List. Then μ adds Ep. 58 which L placed at the end of the treatises, while the List omits it altogether; and L adds Ep. 60 which μ and doubtless the List as well include elsewhere in the larger collection of letters to Cornelius. Both L and μ add next Ep. 76. From Nos. 23 to 28 the three Lists work together again. No. 29 if a separate letter is peculiar, in this position, to the List. Nos. 30 to 33 form a group of four Epistles common to all three collections (save that μ interpolates in the middle of it Ep. 40 which in L and the List comes later), in the order of which however L and μ are combined against the List. As we shall see from the stichometry, No. 31 of the List must be the first part only of Ep. 69 *ad Magnum* in the form in which L and S (Hartel gives no information about μ or T) contain it, breaking off at p. 760, l. 13¹. After this L and μ insert each a considerable body of Epistles not found, at least in this place, in the List. μ leads off with a collection of eight letters to Cornelius, followed by three others. L has here besides two treatises (*De laude martyrii* and *Quod idola*) substantially the same letters, though those to Cornelius are not connected into a single group. Next the two Epistles Nos. 33 b and 34 of the List (Epp. 78, 79) find their parallel in μ ; and after four more Epistles in μ (three of them having occurred in L shortly before) the three authorities finally converge once more. Nos. 35 and 36 occur in inverse order in L , while the first of them is absent in this place from μ , having occurred before. L next interpolates three letters, and then we have Nos. 37 to 40 parallel even to their order with a group of five in L and μ , only that Ep. 12 of the two MSS. does not reappear in the List². The spurious tract *Adversus Judaeos* (No. 41) is an interpolation of the List. Finally the letters to

¹ At least Hartel does not quote L for the second part of this letter: on the other hand he quotes the sister MS. P , throughout, and in his critical preface (Vol. III. p. xxx) he nowhere hints that Ep. 69, part ii, is absent from any one of the family $L N P$.

² There is little doubt that No. 37 should be identified not, as Mommsen and Dr. Sanday believe, with Ep. 12, but with Ep. 54. In favour of the latter are the order in μ and L , the stichometry, and the change in the title of No. 38

Cornelius would most naturally be the connected set of eight¹ (Epp. 60, 57, 59, 52, 47, 45, 44, 51) which occurs earlier together in *μ*, and, though in another neighbourhood, in *T*.

In passing to the consideration of the stichometry proper of the Cyprianic List, it is first of all to be noted that, as in the case of the Old Testament, the individual items as given in the MS. amount, when added together, to a total appreciably variant from the sum named at the end of the List; the latter being 'fiunt omnes versus XVIII. D' (18,500), while the items, according to Dr. Sanday's calculation, come to 16,456, according to my own to 16,256, or 200 less. No figures, however, are given for the *De Dominica Oratione*; probably the number has not simply dropped out, but has been merged with the numbers preceding, for No. 9 *De Patientia* has the figure 860, which is demonstrably too large, as this treatise is only slightly longer than No. 8 *De Mortalitate* with 550. A proposed restoration of this passage is subjoined,

	As read in the MS.	As conjecturally restored.
No. 8. de mortalitate	DL	DL
9. de patientia	DCCCLX	DC
10. ad Fortunatum	DCCXL	DCCCLX
11. de domini oratione	—	DCCCXL

a change which exactly fits the relative lengths of the three treatises, and adds 700 to our total, bringing it up to 16,956, still 1500 too little. But in the next place, the third book of the *Testimonia*, which, as it stands, is more than twice as long as any other treatise of St. Cyprian's, has only the figure 770; and I am as yet entirely unconvinced by any of the reasons which have been brought forward in favour of the theory of a large and systematic interpolation in this book since Cyprian's time². On the contrary, the combined arguments of the apparent homogeneity of the Biblical text throughout the *Testimonia* with the defect of 1500 in the sum of the items of the stichometry, leave little doubt that we ought to add 1000 to the figure for Book III (∞ DCCLXX for DCCLXX). By these two alterations the defect is reduced to 544; but even so it is obvious that the existing text of the stichometry, if the items to 'ad eosdem et diac,' suggesting that the previous letter was 'ad presbyteros' only.

¹ Jerome too in his *Chronicle* (Schoene, p. 180) says 'extant ad eum Cypriani viii epistulae.'

² It has escaped the notice at least of Hartel that not only Jerome but Augustine (*Contra duas epp. Pelagianorum*, iv. 27; vol. x. p. 320) quotes against Pelagius the 54th title of the Third Book of the *Testimonia* with its three proof texts; and while Jerome gives some support to the inferior MSS. of Cyprian, Augustine is much closer to the group *LBV*.

are to be made to tally with the total, must be decidedly imperfect. Can it be restored, and if so, to what extent?

In a large proportion of cases, the relation between the actual length of the various treatises and epistles, with the figures of the stichometry, will be found to be fairly uniform. Taking as a basis the number of lines in Hartel's edition, but on a slightly revised system (as explained below)¹ it will be found that in a very large number of cases, the *στίχος* is to Hartel's line in a proportion varying not far from that of five to four; or to put it otherwise, if the figure 32 be taken to represent Hartel's line, a fixed quantity, the *στίχος* of each book is to it in the proportion of 40 more or less; in the treatises it rises above this average (42 to 32). The following table will illustrate this:—

Title.	Estimate of lines in Hartel as corrected.	Stichometry of the MS.	Proportion of line to <i>στίχος</i> .
1. ad Donatum	312	410	32 to 42
2. ad virgines	445	500	[36]
3. de lapsis	657	980	[48]
4. de opere et eleemosyna	518	670	41 or 42
5. ad Demetrianum	486	535	[36]
6. de ecclesiae unitate	548	750	[44]
7. de zelo et livore	322	420	42
8. de mortalitate	426	550	41 or 42
9. de patientia	455	600 ²	42
10. ad Fortunatum	656	860 ²	42
11. de domini oratione	644	840 ²	42
12. ad Quirinum i	438	550	40
" ii	802	850	[34]
" iii	1426 ³	1770 ³	40
13. ad Antonianum (Ep. lv)	525	650	40
14. de calice dominico (Ep. lxiii)	345	450	42
15. de laude martyrii	550	830	[48]
16. ad confessores martyrum (Ep. x)	110	140	41
17. Moyse et Maximo (Ep. xxviii)	50	70	45
18. ad eodem alia (Ep. xxxvii)	84	120	45 or 46
19. de precando deum (Ep. xi)	148	190	41

¹ I have endeavoured to calculate the lines as exactly as possible, and have allowed both for parts of lines at the end of paragraphs, as well as for the larger print employed in Biblical quotations, and the smaller print in the Appendix (Vol. III); in the *Testimonia*, *ad Fortunatum* and *Sententiae Episcoporum* there are also the titles of chapters to be taken into account. Consequently the number of lines given is smaller than the totals in Hartel.

² As already restored.

³ Mommsen forgot to allow for the two long interpolations of *W* in *Test.* iii. 20 and 59, which amount to nearly 200 lines.

Title.		Estimate of lines in Hartel as corrected.	Sticho- metry of the MS.	Proportion of line to στίχοι.
20 }	ad clerum de Aurelio (Ep. xxxviii)	41	54	32 to 42
21 }				
22.	de Celerino (Ep. xxxix)	89	140 or 100	[50 or 36]
23.	ad Jobaianum (Ep. lxxiii)	446	550	39 or 40
24.	ad Quintum (Ep. lxxi)	80	100	40
25.	?	?	30	
26.	ad prb [or epōs or frs] (Ep. lxx)	88	120	43 or 44
27.	sententiae episcoporum	438	520	38
28.	ad Pompeium (Ep. lxxiv)	238	290	39
29.	ad Stephanum (Ep. lxxii ?)	72	100	44 or 45
30.	ad Fidum (Ep. lxiv)	90	106	37 or 38
31.	ad Magnum (Ep. lxix, part 1)	238	284	38
32.	ad Martialem (Ep. lxvii)	196	350	[57]
33 a.	ad Eucratium (Ep. ii)	34	40	38
	b. Luci (Ep. lxxviii)	37	?	?
34.	Felici et ceteris (Ep. lxxix)	16	20	40
35.	de Numidico (Ep. xl)	24	30	40
36.	ad Florentium (Ep. lxvi)	180	207	37
37.	ad presbyteros (Ep. liv)	62	72	37
38.	ad eosdem et diac. (Ep. xxxii)	20	25	40
39.	ad clerum urb. (Ep. xx)	57	70	39 or 40
40.	Romani resc. (Ep. xxx)	177	215	39
41.	adversus Judaeos	255	290	36 or 37
42-50.	ad Cornelium VIII [? VIII]	1062	1108	[33 or 34]
51.	vita Cypriani	477	600	40

Now, accepting the emendations with which we started, we find that 35 out of 45 items give a proportion (to 32) ranging from $36\frac{1}{2}$ to $45\frac{1}{2}$, or in other words between 8 to 7 and 10 to 7. But the result can be stated more strikingly when the gradual decrease of the relative number of στίχοι to lines, as the list progresses, is brought into notice. Of the first eleven items (the treatises), seven stand at 41 or 42 (to 32); of the next fifteen, nine vary only between $39\frac{1}{2}$ and 42; of the last nineteen, thirteen vary between $36\frac{1}{2}$ and 40. But this large amount of similarity enables us to turn back on the stichometry and emend those cases where the proportions are radically different, remembering in doing so that to bring the items into agreement with the total more than 500 additional στίχοι are required.

In the first place then the στίχοι for Nos. 2 and 3 (D and DCCCCLXXX are respectively too few and too many, but it is easy to suppose that either C or LXXX has been transferred by a copyist from one figure to the next, and that we should read—

2. ad virgines	445	{ DLXXX (580) or } { DC (600)	{ 32 to 42 or 44
3. de lapsis	657	{ DCCCC (900) or } { DCCCLXXX (880)	{ 32 to 44 or 43

No. 5 needs the addition of C and will then read—

5. ad Demetrianum	486	DCXXXV (635)	32 to 42
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No. 6 supported by our revised figures for Nos. 2 and 3 will probably stand ; and in the result all eleven treatises vary between 41½ and 44, while 100 στίχοι (at No. 5) are to be added to our total.

In the next division the numbers for the second book of the *Testimonia* are (as already mentioned) obviously too low. Here again C must be inserted, though even then the proportion of στίχοι to lines is less than in any treatise or epistle in the neighbourhood.

12 b. ad Quirinum ii	802	DCCCL (950)	32 to 38
----------------------	-----	-------------	----------

For No. 15 the figure is too large ; and it seems not unlikely that Epistle 6 (*Ad Confessores L*), found in this place both in *L* and *μ*, originally stood in our list also, its figure being merged in No. 15, its title in No. 16 (*Ad Confessores Martyrum*) so that we might restore—

15 a. de laude martyrii	550	DCC (700)	32 to 40 or 41
b. ad confessores (Ep. vi)	95	CXXX (130)	43 or 44
16. ad martyras (Ep. x)		[as before]	

Nos. 17 and 18 present figures higher than we should expect ; but it must be remembered that the shorter the piece, the more difficult to secure an accurate stichometry without descending to units ; and the list seldom goes below tens. In any case it is not proposed here to go into detail except where change is manifestly necessary and where, when made, it would affect sensibly the totals of the items. Passing to the three numbers, 20, 21, 22, we have found only the two letters on the ordination of Aurelius and Celerinus to apply to them, and of these two the former is well suited by the figure of No. 20, the latter not by either No. 21 or No. 22 as they stand. Perhaps we should alter No. 21 from CXL to CXV with the result :—

22. de Celerino (Ep. xxxix)	89	CXV (115)	32 to 41 or 42
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In any case one figure will be superfluous ; and if we substitute 115 for 140 and 100, 125 στίχοι must be subtracted from the total. The problem suggested by Nos. 25 and 26 has been alluded to before. It is clear that Ep. 70 is to be placed here ; and if a second letter is to be looked for, it would apparently be Ep. 76, which

appears in the immediate neighbourhood in both *L* and μ , and like Ep. 70 is addressed to a body of bishops; and its $\sigma\tau\iota\chi\alpha$ being about 180 (CLXXX), 150 would be added to the figures as they stand (XXX). If on the other hand with Dr. Sanday (p. 301 sup.) we combine Nos. 25, 26 to produce Ep. 70, the $\sigma\tau\iota\chi\alpha$ of No. 25 disappear, and our total loses 30.

No. 29 *ad Stephanum* has a proportion of $\sigma\tau\iota\chi\alpha$ unusually large for this neighbourhood, and Ep. 72 with which it has been tentatively identified, is not found in this connection either in *L* or μ ; it is therefore possible that we have again an erroneous reduplication of the preceding number, the full title of which in *L* is '*ad Pompeium contra epistolam Stephani*' (= *ad Pompeium adv. Stephanum*). St. Augustine too, as Abp. Benson points out¹, though he treats in detail of the Cyprianic literature of the Re-baptism controversy, obviously did not know of this letter to Stephen. No. 30 is the first of several (Nos. 30, 31, 36, 37) the figures of which look suspicious because they violate the general rule, observed even in the case of the shortest epistles (Nos. 33, 34, 35), of having round numbers; and in each of these four instances a slight increase would give a better proportion, though the only quite obvious change is that in No. 37 LXXV should be read for LXXII, and the proportion rise from 37 to 39. A case which more certainly calls for correction is No. 32; and we cannot be far wrong if for CCCL we read CCL.

32. *ad Martialem* (Ep. lxvii) | 196 | 250 | 32 to 41

No. 33 '*Luci ad Eucratium*' we have seen to be compounded of Ep. 2 '*Ad Eucratium*' (to which the figure XL belongs) and Ep. 78, '*Luci*,' for which a figure must be supplied:—

33b. *Luci* (Ep. lxxviii) | 37 | 45 or 50 | 32 to 39 or 43

Emendation is again necessary for Nos. 42–50, where 1108 is very considerably too little. In the MS. as it stands—'*Ad Cornelium VIII* ∞ CVIII'—it looks as if the latter cyphers were a repetition, or possibly a correction (VIII for VIII) of the number of the letters to Cornelius. If nine is the correct number, they are doubtless the nine letters so addressed of our present collection; if eight, then probably the eight which are grouped together in μ , Ep. 48 being the absentee². The nine letters amount to 1062 lines, the eight to 1016, and judging by the proportions which prevail in the

¹ *Dict. Chr. Biog.* i. 750 a. See note at end of this paper, p. 324.

² Jerome too recognises eight: *Chron.* (ed. Schoene, p. 181) '*extant ad [Cornelium] Cypriani viii epistulae.*'

neighbouring numbers, the existing figure 1108 must have superseded something like 1300 in the one case, or 1250 in the other.

42-50. ad Corneliū VIII	1062 [or	1300 [or	} | 32 to 39 or 40
[or VIII]	1016]	1250]	

To put together then the various changes made, *στίχοι* were added for No. 5 (100), for No. 12 b (100), for No. 33 b (about 50), for Nos. 42-50 (150 or 200), and were subtracted from Nos. 21, 22 (about 125) and from Nos. 29 and 32 (100 each); a net addition of about 100. But the defect to be made good was much larger than this, and our items are still left in a minority of from 400 to 500 as compared with the same total—about 18,030 or 18,080 to 18,500. It would seem most likely that the remaining lacunae are to be supplied by the supposition that some letters have dropped out, rather than by increasing to so large an extent the figures of the letters already discussed. Suggestions as to lost letters must be hypothetical in the extreme; but among possibilities may be mentioned one or more of the following; Ep. 76 at No. 25 (180 *στίχοι*); Ep. 58 *Ad Thibartanos*—which is found in nearly all collections—somewhere between No. 11, its place in *L*, and No. 22 its place in *μ* (300 *στίχοι*); *Quod idola dii non sint* (240 *στίχοι*); and at No. 31 the second part of Ep. 69 as follows:—

31. ad Magnum (Ep. lxix a)	238	284	32 to 38
31b. ad [eundem (Ep. lxix b)	123	150 (CL)	39
32. de] Martiale (Ep. lxvii)	196	250 (CCL)	41

Further or more detailed enquiry into the stichometry does not seem likely to be fruitful or profitable; and it only remains now to ask what light is thrown by the Cheltenham List on the history of the Cyprianic correspondence. In the forefront of the answer to such a question would come the result that no single one of the letters mentioned can with any reasonable probability be said to be absent from the extant collection. It would be possible to go further and to doubt whether more than a very few of Cyprian's letters that were preserved at all have failed to survive to our own time. With regard to isolated epistles, we are not indeed in a position to decide; but by far the larger number of his letters must have belonged to groups—to the controversies about the lapsed, about Novatianism, about heretical baptism—and the parts of each group are so intricately bound up together, that the absence of one link in the chain could scarcely pass unnoticed. In the first half of the letters there is

(so far as I have seen) only one instance where we seem obliged to assume a lost letter of Cyprian's own, namely when the Roman clergy (*Ep.* xxxvi. 4) refer to his writing to them about Privatus of Lambaese, a description which does not apply to any extant epistle. It is not indeed surprising that we have to postulate in these series a considerable number of lost letters directed to him, for it was of course his letters alone which formed the nucleus of the collections in the first instance, and the loss of the former only enhances the significance of the preservation of so large a number of the latter. In our own Cheltenham List, out of about 36 epistles present, 33 are from Cyprian, three only to him (Nos. 33 b, 34—wrongly given as 'To Felix,' instead of 'From Felix'—40), a proportion of 11 to 1; in the complete collection as we have it the numbers are 65 to 16, a proportion of only 4 to 1.

Where were the first collections of Cyprian's writings made? The Roman Church had indeed preferred to remember, not his quarrel with one Pope, but his support and recognition of another; and the names of Cyprian and Cornelius were enshrined together in the canon of the mass, as their portraits were depicted side by side in the catacombs. Still, Cyprian had naturally not the same authority for Roman as for African readers; and if Rome was the scene of some of the later and fuller editions of his correspondence, we should probably look across the sea for the first. And although the letters to Cornelius appear in a collected shape as early as the Cheltenham List, the rest of the correspondence between Cyprian and Rome (of which 11 more letters from him and 7 to him are now extant) is singularly imperfect in all earlier collections; and the 13 epistles which were sent over with Epistle 20¹—that is, no doubt, Epistles 5-7, 10-19—are the last to appear anything like completely, while contrariwise the Epistle which accompanied them has a place in our List, suggesting perhaps that it was incorporated into the collected correspondence in Africa, where it would circulate independently, rather than in Rome, where a number of other letters were attached to it.

But if Cyprian was something of an alien to Rome, in Africa he was pre-eminently, until his fame was eclipsed by the greater fame of Augustine, the saint to whose writings the Church by preference appealed. It was there only in the West² that his declarations on

¹ *Ep.* xx. 2, 'Epistolae pro temporibus emissae numero tredecim quas ad vos transmissi.'

² In the East the Greek translation of the *Sententiae Episcoporum*, or votes

baptism were regarded as authoritative; and the series of letters which contain them is that most completely represented both in the Cheltenham List and in the earliest MSS. Even in Africa, however, it is perhaps improbable that there was any official Karthaginian collection, for the early letters to the clergy and others at Karthage are conspicuous by their absence from the first lists. It is rather to individual energies, acting independently in different parts of the province, that the germs of the collection should be ascribed. Cyprian's desire was always that copies of all important pronouncements should be reproduced as widely as possible among those who looked to his guidance¹; and though

of the Karthaginian Council on Rebaptism of 256 A. D., was ratified as Canon Law by the Quinisextine Council in Trullo, A. D. 691.

¹ The following quotations will illustrate this exhaustively:—

(i) *Ep. xxv.* (538. 16), to Caldonius, an African bishop: 'Librum tibi cum epistulis numero quinque misi quas ad clerum et ad plebem et ad martyras quoque et confessores feci; quas epistolae etiam plurimis collegis nostris missae placuerunt.' Cf. *Ep. xxvi* (539. 13) referring to the same letters, *Epp. 15-19*.

(ii) *Ep. xxxii.* (565. 8), to the clergy of Karthage: 'Vos curate quantum potestis pro diligentia vestra ut et scripta nostra et illorum rescripta fratribus nostris innotescant. Sed et si qui de peregrinis episcopi collegae mei vel presbyteri vel diacones praesentes fuerint vel supervenerint, haec omnia de vobis audiant. Et si exempla epistularum transcribere et ad suos perferre voluerint, facultatem transcriptionis accipiant;' referring to *Epp. 27, 28, 30, 31*.

(iii) *Ep. xxxiv.* 3 (570. 4), to the same: 'Legite vero has easdem litteras et collegis meis, si qui aut praesentes fuerint aut supervenerint.'

(iv) *Ep. lv.* 4 (626. 4), to Antonianus: 'In epistula mea quae extat' (ref. to *Ep. xix*); ib. § 5 (627. 10): 'Quae litterae per totum mundum missae sunt et in notitiam ecclesiis omnibus et universis fratribus perlatæ sunt' (referring to *Ep. xxx.* from the Roman clergy); ib. § 6 (628. 1): 'Secundum quod libello continetur, quem ad te pervenisse confido, ubi singulorum placitorum capita conscripta sunt' (referring to the lost Acts of the African council).

(v) *Ep. lxi.* 1 (771. 5), to Quintus: 'De qua re quid nuper in concilio plurimi coepiscopi cum compresbyteris qui aderant censuerimus ut scires, eiusdem epistolae exemplum tibi misi' (referring to *Ep. lxx*); cf. *Ep. lxxiii.* (778. 18), to Jubaianus: 'Exemplum earundem litterarum tibi misi, quid in concilio cum complures adessemus decreverimus, quid item postea Quinto collegae nostro de eadem re quaerenti rescripserim' (ref. to *Epp. lxx, lxxi*).

(vi) *Ep. lxxiv.* 1 (799. 6), to Pompeius: 'Quamquam plene ea quae de hereticis baptizandis dicenda sunt complexi simus in epistolis quarum ad te exempla transmisimus, frater carissime, tamen quia desiderasti in notitiam tuam perferri quid mihi ad litteras nostras Stephanus frater noster rescripserit, misi tibi rescripti eius exemplum;' from which we see that the answers to Cyprian's letters would not necessarily circulate with his.

Antonianus, Quintus, Jubaianus and Pompeius were all African bishops.

Note that the one letter from Rome (*Ep. 30*) mentioned in the Cheltenham list is just that one of which St. Cyprian, writing to Antonianus, speaks as having circulated throughout 'all the churches.'

this could not be systematically carried out with respect to the earlier Epistles, written during persecution, and in his absence from Karthage (some of them too being of only local or momentary interest), it is not unlikely that the authoritative documents in the later controversies were officially circulated throughout the African episcopate. It is worth noting that in *T*, the only one of the older MSS. which contains the whole or nearly the whole of the correspondence as we have it now, the connected Epistles 15-19 occur together, and are immediately followed by the two Epistles (26, 25) in which Cyprian speaks of the circulation of this group of five in Africa. Africa then, the evidence would suggest, was the scene of the incorporation of Cyprian's letters and treatises into collections more or less extensive; and the conclusion is reinforced when we remember that our earliest witness, the Cheltenham List, is itself, as Dr. Sanday has amply shown on independent grounds, African in origin.

NOTE ON THE EVIDENCE OF ST. AUGUSTINE IN RELATION TO EP. 72 (THE KARTHAGINIAN COUNCIL TO STEPHEN).

1. Augustine, *de Baptismo contra Donatistas*, lib. vi. c. 7 (ed. Bened. ix. p. 111; Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* v. p. 210): 'Iam satis, quantum arbitror, non solum ad epistolam quam Iubaiano scripsit, sed etiam ad illam quam ad Quintum dedit, et ad illam quam cum quibusdam collegis ad quosdam collegas, et ad illam quam ad Pompeium, quantum potuimus . . . libris superioribus disputavimus.'

St. Augustine had then examined successively *Epp.* 73, 71, 70, 74; he then discusses one by one the *Sententiae Episcoporum*; *Ep.* 69, though mentioned more cursorily, has both its two parts represented by quotation or allusion. But of *Ep.* 72 we hear nothing.

2. *Id. ib. lib. vi. c. 15* (ix. p. 171; Routh, p. 222):—

'*Crescens a Ciria dixit; In tanto coetu sanctissimorum consacerdotum lectis litteris Cypriani dilectissimi nostri ad Iubaianum, itemque ad Stephanum . . . sed aliquis forsitan quaerat, quid de hac re beati Cypriani epistola ad Stephanum dixerit, cuius in hac sententia commemoratio facta est, cum in exordio concilii non sit commemorata, credo quia non putatum est necessarium. nam et ipsam in isto coetu consacerdotum lectam esse dixit: quod factum omnino non dubito, quantum arbitror, ut fieri solet, quo possent iam congregati episcopi etiam de illa causa simul aliquid cognoscere, quae illa epistola continetur. nam prorsus ad quaestionem praesentem non pertinet; et magis miror cur eam iste commemorare voluerit, quam cur in exordio concilii commemoratio eius praetermissa sit. quod si quisquam arbitratur me aliquid noluisse in medium proferre quod in ea positum est praesenti causae necessarium, legat eum et sciat verum esse quod dico; aut si aliud invenerit, redarguat. prorsus enim illa epistola de baptismo apud haereticos vel schismaticos dato, unde nunc agimus, nihil habet.*'

St. Augustine is astonished to find that this Bishop emphasized a letter from Stephen which had nothing whatever to do with the controversy. He

does not deny that there was a letter to Stephen, or that it was read at the Council; nay, he asserts its existence, but asserts at the same time that it dealt with totally different questions. In other words, while our editions give us two letters from Cyprian to Stephen, one of which (*Ep.* 72) is primarily concerned with Rebaptism, while the second (*Ep.* 68) has nothing to do with it, it is clear that St. Augustine knew only one of the two, and that not the one on Rebaptism.

This evidence, taken in connection with the known nearness of relation in time and place between the Cheltenham list and St. Augustine, warrants I think the conclusion that the identification of the *ad Stephanum* of the list with *Ep.* 72, not being supported either by parallels in *L* and μ , or by exactness of stichometry, must be considered doubtful.

[NOTE.—While speaking of Cyprianic criticism it may not perhaps be out of place to subjoin a short account of a MS. of Cyprian, not mentioned in Hartel, from the Biblioteca Comunale at Siena (F. V. 14: saec. xiv ex. or xv in. according to the printed catalogue), which the writer noticed and inspected in March of the last year (1890). The order of writings contained in this MS. which may be called *s* is as follows, adopting the notation of Hartel:—

I. X. IX. *de premio martyrum* (I fancy from my notes that this must mean the latter part of the previous treatise IX. *ad Fortunatum de exhortatione martyris*), *Epp.* 37. 38. 10. V. VII. VIII. XI. XII. XIII. IV. VI. *Epp.* 30. 60. 57. 59. 63. 55. 6. 28. 11. 39. 58. 76. 73. 71. 70. *Sent. Epp.* 74. 40. 49. 52. 47. 45. 44. 51. 13. 43. 65. 1. 61. 46. 66. 54. 69. 69 b. 67. 64. 2. 32. 20. 12. 78. 79. 77. 31. 70. 7. 5. 14. 4. 56. 3. 72. 50. 68. 53. 16. 15. 17. 18. 19. 26. 25. 9. 29. II. *de singularitate clericorum, de montibus Sina et Sion*, *Ep.* 48. III (only the introductory letter to Quirinus).

The parallels to this order among Hartel's MSS. would seem to be, for the earlier part *P* (Hartel, p. xxx) *o* (p. xxxviii), for the central portion *T* (p. xxxix) and for the end *p* and *i* (p. lvii), while *r* (p. xlvii) closes like our MS. with the introductory letter to Quirinus. All these MSS. except *P* belong to the *M Q T* family, for which see the genealogy on p. xxxiv.

A second MS. of Cyprian at Siena is numbered F. V. 13, and is of the xvth century.

THE END.

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